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Tributes to

Abraham Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources providing testimonials lauding the 16th President of the United States

Surnames beginning with

Me-Morgan

From the files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

71.2009.085.02110

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Meader, Dr. Emma

SAGE STUDENTS HEAR ADDRESS ON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Dr. Emma Meader Tells How Emancipator Would Have Viewed This War

"It is possible that this generation can understand Abraham Lincoln a little better than it could before Pearl Harbor, for in many ways what we are seeking now is what Lincoln was seeking between 1861 and 1865," Dr. Emma Grant Meader, declared at the Russell Sage College chapel service in the First Presbyterian Church today.

Dr. Meader, who was born in Springfield, Ill., which she referred to as "the city that gave Lincoln his chance of making a living in the profession he loved," took "Lincoln Marches on Today" as the title of her annual Lincoln address.

Quoting a New York Times editorial she said: "'Abraham Lincoln would understand our war and the reasons for it. He would be sorrowful that it had to be fought, but he would not ask that it be suspended before its purpose had been fulfilled. We ought not to invoke him now as a sort of tribal god. He was not that. He was an American, with the American traditions in his heart, the American aspirations a part of his very soul. He was what we have been and also what we may become. In this sense he marches with us now, stands beside every wounded soldier, comforts every bereaved wife and mother, sees with pitying eyes the sufferings fo millions, he came out of the people. He returned to them. Eighty years dead, yet he lives'—and grows in power."

The speaker related many Lincoln anecdotes and told of "a movement now well under way to sift the myths and legends about Lincoln from the facts."

She said that the Lincoln National Life Foundation accepts four classes of source material as reliable. These are Lincoln's autobiographical sketches; his correspondence; his addresses and duly authorized public records.

Among many interesting facts of his life she revealed that a recent record shows that Lincoln invested 61 per cent of his income in war bonds during Civil War days and that he paid an income tax he did not have to pay.

Meredith, Edwin

His Memory Forever Green to America

By Edwin Meredith

Secretary of Agriculture.

Written Especially for Universal Service.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11.—I believe there is recorded a beatitude for the man who loves his enemies, but I wonder what would have been said of the man who is loved by his enemies. Such a man we find in the person of Abraham Lincoln. All of us look upon him as the man without whom the Union would have been broken and scattered. He guided the destinies of the Nation through one of the most critical periods in its history and the memory of his greatness, his loving kindness and his rightness of heart will live forever in the minds of all Americans.

Merkel

Birthday of Lincoln--An Ageless Titan

Lincoln Journal 2-12-55

By WALTER MERKEL

On this proud day the Union Army moves again from the pages of history. It moves in silent parade "down Washington's chiefest Avenue," as Bret Harte saw it in his famous poem.

But the most important figure of all is missing among the ghosts of the reviewing stand — the Commander-in-Chief.

Abraham Lincoln, whose birthday anniversary we so humbly observe, did not live to see the final fruits of his labor; to watch the sweep of great armies before they broke ranks to return to the ways of peace.

Through the magic of early photography—and it was magic in those days—we see Lincoln as he posed for his last portrait. Lee had handed his sword to Grant and the colors of the Confederacy had been struck. How profoundly the Great Emancipator must have meditated as he faced the camera; but doubtless with no premonition that four days later he would fall from an assassin's bullet!

HIS LAST SITTING

If he had lived to stand among his fellows as the Boys in Blue filled "Washington's chiefest Avenue," surely the same sadness would have been in his eyes that we note in his portrait. He would have thought of the desolate homes where thousands would not pass again; more than 359,000 soldiers of the North, more than 250,000 of the South.

All of the panoply before him, the glitter of arms, the colors of the standards, the accoutrement of cavalry, would not have lifted the sorrow from his heart.

Abraham Lincoln lived and died for an ideal—that all men are created free and equal. He captained the Ship of State with a steady hand and a true purpose. And he reached men's souls, as he did that of Walt Whitman, when the wartime poet, grieved by the President's death wrote:

"Exult O shores and ring O bells,
But I with mournful tread,
Walk the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen cold and dead."

Merriam, Gov.

LINCOLN LIFE HELD MODEL

Los Angeles Times 2-13-35

Merriam Lauds Emancipator

Club Told Leadership and Confidence Such as His in Need Today

Intimate glimpses into the life of Abraham Lincoln were given more than 200 members of the Lincoln Club of Los Angeles at a formal banquet last night in the dining-room of the California Club.

The banquet marked celebration of the one hundred and twenty-sixth anniversary of the birth of the Great Emancipator.

MERRIAM SPEAKS

Bpt Lincoln was not extolled as an emancipator at this gathering. Rather he was held up as America's exemplar of what citizenship ought to be.

It was Gov. Merriam who informally sounded the keynote of the gathering.

Called on when he arrived for dinner, so that he might main maintain an unbroken record of having attended every Lincoln Club banquet since he became a charter member in 1921, Gov. Merriam said:

"It is a happy thing to celebrate Lincoln's birthday. To me he is the exemplar of what citizenship ought to be.

"I can think of nothing more sobering to this country at tl is time; of nothing that could become a greater influence in steadying the spirit of our country, than to contemplate the life and leadership of Lincoln."

AVERY HEADS CLUB

Lincoln's home life, his conduct in the practice of law, his public spiritedness, his political sincerity and his humanitarianism as President of the Republic through the most trying period of its history were graphically portrayed by President Edward D. Lyman.

Former Judge Russ Avery, first-vice-president, was elected to the presidency of the club at last night's meeting.

Honoring Edward A. Dickson, who was president of the club in 1925 and 1926, and who has worked unceasingly toward its success, the club last night created the office of president emeritus and elected Dickson its first president emeritus.

WAR HISTORY TRACED

The principal speaker of the evening was Dr. Avery O. Craven of the University of Chicago, who brought a new sort of message to the club. He spoke of "The Attitude of the South Toward Abraham Lincoln," retracing the history of the Civil War and quoting seldom-heard comments of leaders of the times concerning Lincoln's aims, purposes and conduct.

"To Lincoln," said Dr. Craven, "the Negro had to be emancipated in order to save the Union and the Union was worth saving, because it was the embodiment of an idea."

That idea, Dr. Craven said, was the ideal of democracy.

"It must never be forgotten," he said, "that the significance of America to mankind is as an experiment in democracy." He pointed out that the experiment is not ended, that democracy is still on trial, and that the preservation of that ideal is the spiritual legacy of Lincoln.

LINCOLN QUOTED

"The Civil War was, in Lincoln's own words, a struggle testing whether that kind of a government or any other so conceived, could long endure, or whether it must perish from the face of the earth," Dr. Craven asserted.

"More clearly than any other man in his time, Lincoln saw that the white man's freedom was as much involved in that war as that of the Negro.

"In his famous Peoria speech he issued the solemn warning: 'In our greedy chase to make profits out of the Negro, let us beware lest we cancel and tear to pieces even the white man's charter of freedom.'

"In his Philadelphia speech of February, 1861, Lincoln revealed his whole philosophy in his statement that the Declaration of Independence 'gave liberty not alone to the people of this country out hope to all the world for all future time.'

"Here was Lincoln in his true role as the great democrat, the spokesman not alone of the common man of America but of the common man the world over.

FIRMNESS NECESSARY

"May I say that the place of Lincoln in history depends on the place of democratic government in the history of mankind. If we let go of our ideal in these troubled times, and Fascism, dictatorships or socialistic systems crowd democracy from the picture, then Lincoln will hardly hold a great place in history. If the democratic form of government fails, then Lincoln's work will be but an episode in a lost cause. On us, as a people, rests the task of carrying forward what he so nobly began. The hope for equality of man is not an idle dream. Democracy need not perish from the face of the earth."

PASTOR SPEAKER

Dr. Herbert Smith Booth, pastor of the Emmanuel Presbyterian Church, and a deep student of Lincoln's life, painted him as a deeply religious soul, although Lincoln was not known to have been a communicant of any church.

The reading of Lincoln's Gettysburg address closed the banquet.

Merrill, Mabel S.

YOUTH'S WORLD

Lincoln's Dark Days

By Mabel S. Merrill

MOST of us would say that Lincoln had a large measure of success in his lifetime. Certainly he attained to the highest honor the nation can bestow. Yet history shows that, from early youth to the end of his life, he suffered again and again the pangs of defeat and discouragement.

His childhood was full of hardship such as a youngster of today could hardly imagine. Living in a log cabin, with only a heap of dry leaves for a bed, was not so hard for a child of seven, perhaps, but the young pioneer led a life of constant toil. That nine-mile walk to school and back—eighteen miles a day in all weathers—was one item. Then there was the bringing of water from the spring half a mile away, the never-ending task of gathering fuel, the work with the ax, the plowing, planting, and numerous other jobs, all of which the children must share as far as they could. The pleasures of such a childhood must have been scant indeed.

Abraham Lincoln's young passion for books had little to feed on. Once in his boyhood he walked six miles to get a copy of a grammar which he had been told was owned by a certain settler. He mastered that grammar in the pauses of his field-work, or at mealtime, or by the light of burning pine-shavings at night.

Once he borrowed a book and devoured it at odd moments in his loft under the cabin roof. When the rains beat through the roof and spoiled the book, he pulled fodder two days to pay for it. "He left not a corn-stalk standing," the owner of the book reported.

At twenty-two years of age the future President of the United States started for New Salem with his belongings done up in a handkerchief and slung on a stick over his shoulder. For years he was a clerk on a very small salary. At last he was able to acquire a part interest in two or three stores, all of which failed and left him with debts on his hands.

Debts! How he hated them! They seemed a kind of dishonesty to him. "They were little rats, a rat for every dollar, and he could hear them gnawing in the night when he wanted to sleep." So says Sandburg, his biographer. Yet he had to carry for years the burden of those debts, though he was always struggling hard to pay them off.

Once Lincoln was sued for ten dollars which he owed on a horse. The horse was taken from him, together with the saddle and his surveying instruments, the latter being his chief means of livelihood. A friend—he always had friends—bought back the horse and the surveying equipment and gave them to the discouraged young toiler.

When, after incredible difficulties, he had prepared himself to practise law, he was one thousand dollars in debt, a large sum for those times. He had seven dollars in his pocket when he started for Springfield, Ill., where his venture was to be made. When he asked the price of a bed, on his arrival, he found it was beyond his means, so he gratefully accepted the offer of a man who was willing to share his own bed with the newcomer.

His office was a small room, with bookshelves made of loose boards. The place was heated by an old rusty wood-stove, and contained, besides, a table, chair, and bed.

The first time Lincoln ran for the legislature he was defeated. Poverty and loss continued to dog his footsteps. For years, in his early manhood, he did the hardest and roughest work to eke out his scant earnings, laboring in the corn-fields and chopping big timber in the forest.

Early death claimed many of his loved ones. He lost his mother when he was eight years old. His betrothed, Ann Rutledge, died of a fever which took many of the settlers. Numerous friends and neighbors succumbed to the hardships of pioneer life. He had more than the ordinary human share of sorrow and loneliness.

Yet always within himself was something that made him rise and go forward. Nature and his early training worked together to keep him strong. His first book was the Bible. The teaching of his childhood had set his feet in the straight paths. So, in the great crisis of his life, he could say:

"If God has a place and a work for me, I am ready."

Merrill, William P.

Dr. Merrill Asks U.S. Be Viewed 'Through Eyes of Lincoln'

"Franklin K. Lane once defined 'Americanization' as 'looking at our country through the eyes of Lincoln,'" said Dr William Pierson Merrill yesterday morning at the Brick Presbyterian Church, Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street.

"Nothing better could come to pass in the life of this land to-day than that as many as possible of its people should come to look at their country in this way. To seek in the life of our nation that which Lincoln sought, to be faithful to the great, simple ideals to which he was so inflexibly true—that would be ideal."

N. Y. Herald Tribune

2/3/27

Merritt. Wesley

Merrill, Rev. Dr. William P.

DR. MERRILL HAILS SPIRIT OF LINCOLN

Pastor of Brick Presbyterian Church Says It Typifies the Highest Americanism.

New York

SEEN AS NEED IN CRISIS

Feb 12 1934

Unity and Equality Stressed as Two Greatest Objectives in the Nation Today.

The Americanism of Abraham Lincoln was hailed yesterday as typical of "the spirit of our country" by the Rev. Dr. William P. Merrill, the pastor, in his sermon at the Brick Presbyterian Church, Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street.

"Abraham Lincoln," Dr. Merrill said, "seems to incarnate the spirit of our country more than any other man. His spirit was such a great one that Franklin K. Lane once defined Americanism as 'looking at our country through the eyes of Lincoln.'"

The necessity in this crisis for an Americanism such as Lincoln's was stressed by Dr. Merrill. He said our nation was passing through a crisis different in form from that of Lincoln's time but identical in spirit.

"We need such Americanism now in a peculiar degree. Our nation is passing through a crisis, different in outward form from that through which Lincoln led our fathers, but near enough to it in aim to make us feel a very real identity of spirit with the men who then gave their best to defend the Union.

"The two great ends which Lincoln had ever in mind were unity and equality. He struggled to keep our nation one and inseparable, and at the same time to work toward an equitable social order, where every man should have a fair chance.

"The same two great ends shine out amid the fogs and mists of the present crisis. It is highly necessary that our country shall be held firmly in unity of spirit and life and shall make steady progress toward the outworking of the great principle of fair and equal treatment for all its citizens.

"In such an age the spirit of Lincoln is a priceless asset."

Tribute From a General

General Wesley Merritt, who served with distinction in two wars, the Civil War and in the Spanish-American, conflict, and who in 1882 was placed at the head of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point was an ardent admirer of first great army commander.

He appears in the roll of Major Generals of the Civil War from Illinois in Moses' history of Illinois, page 1231. The date of his commission was April 1, 1865, from the regular army.

Gen. Merritt was born in New York City, June 16, 1836, and was the son of John W. Merritt, who moved with his family from New York to St. Clair County, Illinois, in 1841. The father was connected with newspapers at Belleville and Salem and in 1864 with his sons purchased the Springfield State Register which they published until its sale to Weber-Oberly-Edwarge group in 1879. While Gen. Merritt's father and brother were very prominent in the affairs of Springfield, Ill., for fifteen years, there seems to be no records of his visits to the capitol city.

Lincoln collectors will find a place for his beautiful tribute in their files. It is as follows:

There is not, to my mind, outside of Divine Writ, so convincing an evidence of the immortality of the soul, as is furnished by the growth and development of the mind and character of the greatest of American presidents to meet the exigencies of the direction and control of a great resolution, on the successful issue of which depended the happiness of one-fifth of the world. From a poor country boy, uneducated and untrained, we find him advancing through the grades of a commonplace law practice, to the government of a great nation in one of the most perplexing political epochs that history records, controlling and directing events to a successful issue—to the most successful issue possible, as retrospection after a lapse of years proves. History furnishes scarcely a parallel to the character of this greatest of reformers. The love of power has produced wise despots who have endured a life of earnest labor, full of privations, for the sake of innovation and improvement; Icabots have lived miserable lives, or suffered infamous deaths for an idea involving improvements, but the motive in both cases is rather personal than general. The rule with mankind as practical in politics or religion, in conservation. In the fact of opposition and struggle, we shrink from responsibilities, and content ourselves with contracting the sphere of intended reforms, to our immediate surroundings.

As his career differed from that of the other heroes of history, in that he lived and strove for reforms that would benefit mankind, though his own life should be the price, in so far as Abraham Lincoln the greatest of Reformers, — the noblest of Patriots—the ablest of men.

U. S. Army, 1882. W. Merritt.

Infl by wife 1/11/36

Congressional Record
February 11, 1952

Merrow

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 11, 1952

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein an article written by me entitled "Abraham Lincoln." This appeared in several New Hampshire newspapers last week:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

Next Tuesday, February 12, is the one hundred and forty-third anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birthday. Lincoln was the sixteenth President of the United States and the first Republican to occupy the highest office in the land. In February of each year there are held throughout the United States Lincoln Day dinners. These occasions are for the purpose of paying respect to the work of the Civil War President and to honor a man whose statesmanship and leadership towered not only high above his own generation, but stand as an enduring landmark to guide the footsteps of men in the middle of this turbulent twentieth century. The stature and influence of Abraham Lincoln has constantly grown as succeeding generations have recognized his imperishable contribution to the freedom, well-being, and happiness of mankind. Truly, as Edwin M. Stanton, then Secretary of War, said when Abraham Lincoln died in Washington on April 15, 1865: "Now he belongs to the ages."

THE ISSUE OF OUR TIME

The transcending issue of this decade with which the free world is contending may be well stated by recalling the immortal words of the Gettysburg Address, delivered by Abraham Lincoln on November 19, 1863, as part of the ceremonies dedicating the Civil War battlefield as a national cemetery for the Union dead: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

It is highly appropriate to say that now we are engaged in a globe-encircling conflict testing whether free civilization or any civilization "so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure." The test to which Lincoln referred in his Gettysburg Address was met and resolved affirmatively. The Nation "conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" has endured. Just as our brave and inspired predecessors of Lincoln's generation made possible the continuance of a united Republic, so must we with the same type of resolution make certain beyond any doubt that free civilization will endure for the generations who are to live upon this planet after we who are now participants in the current struggle no longer walk upon the stage of human affairs.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE WORLD TODAY

Were Lincoln alive today he would thoroughly grasp and understand the world situation. He would immediately discern that this is a life-and-death struggle between international communism and the free world. He would recognize that our people are resolved to make any sacrifice to win this conflict. He would also know that the people are demanding of their representatives and their leaders sound judgment in public affairs both domestic and foreign. Lincoln would not be confused or misled by the subtle Communist propaganda and the Communist methods of deceit and infiltration. He would have never been deceived by the phony proposal for a truce in Korea that was made by the Communists last June. Lincoln would be liberal not reactionary. He would be far-sighted and not blind to the facts of international life.

Lincoln would meet the threats to democracy, both domestic and foreign, with courage, not timidity. He would stand for adequate national defense, soundly financed, without duplication, waste, and inefficiency. He would be unalterably opposed to any and all attempts to appease the unappeasable. Just as he knew that there could be no compromise on the deep and burning question of firmly establishing the Federal Union, so he would know that there is not even the remotest possibility of compromising with the Communists. Lincoln would do whatever is necessary to win both the cold and the hot wars.

Let us keep in mind that despite the fact he was one of the gentlest men who ever lived, Lincoln was at the same time capable of organizing and carrying through to a successful conclusion one of the most bitterly fought wars in all history. He never flinched from the price that was necessary for a permanent and united country. Lincoln would do whatever is necessary, take whatever action is required, and would employ every weapon in the arsenal of the free nations to defeat the Communist menace wherever found. There would be no compromise, either in Europe or in Asia. Lincoln would never have dismissed MacArthur.

THE CURRENT BATTLE

The last words of the Gettysburg Address, how brilliantly they stand out as the most inspirational of all oratorical jewels: "that

Merrow, Chester p. 2

government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Truly, the Government of the United States must always be a "government of the people, by the people, for the people." If we interpret Lincoln correctly, I am convinced these words mean that the government for the people should employ every sound measure and every valid means to increase and augment the general welfare of all the people. These words are particularly significant in 1952 as we attempt to understand and find answers to the complex economic and political problems of our time. We realize that "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is being assaulted by the evil forces of international communism which would annihilate every semblance of human freedom and press down upon mankind the iron chains of slavery. Never have men been engaged in a more crucial struggle. The forces of freedom are mustering wherever the love of liberty stirs the souls of men. This current battle for the dignity of the human being must and can be won.

THE SECOND INAUGURAL

In the last paragraph of the second inaugural are these immortal words: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for hiw who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

These words come ringing to us across the decades. They are as appropriate now as when uttered. We are in the process of trying to do all we can to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations. Lincoln possessed a vision that pierced the future. He peered with incrediable prescience down the corridors of time to the very hours in which we live and even to the years which are to come.

A VISION OF THE FUTURE

We can achieve the goal that Lincoln envisioned by being determined that the threat of Communist Soviet tyranny shall not prevail. The evil designs of the Kremlin will be dashed to bits against the solid rocks of freedom. Let us from the observance of the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday and the study of Lincoln's life take on new courage, receive fresh inspiration and be resolved to put into practice the principles of his leadership for the universal realization of the high ideals of freedom which constitute the heart and core of free civilization. Let us be resolved that from this hour we will approach the future with a constructive, intelligent, realistic, and positive program, with constructive, intelligent, realistic, and positive leadership which will redound to the future glory and power of the United States, the greatest citadel of human freedom, social justice, and peace that Providence has ever allowed to exist upon this earth.

Merrow, Chester p. 2

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Merrow, Hon. Chester E.

Letter by Abraham Lincoln, Concerning the Presidential Election of 1864

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER E. MERROW

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 23, 1944

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter written by Abraham Lincoln, on October 22, 1864, to William B. Campbell and others, concerning the Presidential election of 1864:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, D. C., October 22, 1864.

GENTLEMEN: On the 15th day of this month, as I remember, a printed paper, with a few manuscript interlineations, called a protest, with your names appended thereto, and accompanied by another printed paper purporting to be a proclamation by Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, and also a manuscript paper purporting to be extracts from the Code of Tennessee, was laid before me. The protest, proclamation, and extracts are, respectively, as follows:

(The protest is here recited, and also the proclamation of Governor Johnson, dated September 30, to which it refers, together with a list of the counties in east, middle, and west Tennessee; also an extract from the Code of Tennessee, in relation to electors of President and Vice President of the United States, the qualifications of voters for members of the general assembly, and the places of holding elections of officers of popular elections.)

At the time these papers were presented, as before stated, I had never seen either of them, nor heard of the subject to which they relate, except in a general way, only 1 day previously. Up to the present moment nothing whatever has passed between Governor Johnson, or anyone else connected with the proclamation, and myself. Since receiving the papers, as stated, I have given the subject such brief consideration as I have been able to do in the midst of so many pressing public duties.

My conclusion is that I have nothing to do with the matter, either to sustain the plan as the convention and Governor Johnson have initiated it, or to revoke or modify it as you demand. By the Constitution and laws, the President is charged with no duty in the conduct of a Presidential election in any State; nor do I, in this case, perceive any military reason for his interference in the matter.

The movement set on foot by the convention and Governor Johnson does not, as seems to be assumed by you, emanate from the National Executive. In no proper sense can it be considered other than as an independent movement of at least a portion of the loyal people of Tennessee.

I do not perceive in the plan any menace of violence or coercion toward anyone. Governor Johnson, like any other loyal citizen of Tennessee, has the right to favor any political plan he chooses, and, as military governor, it is his duty to keep the peace among and for the loyal people of the State. I cannot discern that by this plan he purposes any more.

But you object to the plan. Leaving it alone will be your perfect security against it. Do as you please on your own account, peacefully and loyally, and Governor Johnson will not molest you, but will protect you against violence so far as lies in his power.

I presume that the conducting of a Presidential election in Tennessee in strict accordance with the old code of the State is not now a possibility.

It is scarcely necessary to add that if any election shall be held, and any votes shall be cast in the State of Tennessee for President and Vice President of the United States, it will belong, not to the military agents, nor yet to the executive department, but exclusively to another department of the Government, to determine whether they are entitled to be counted in conformity with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Except it be to give protection against violence, I decline to interfere in any way with any Presidential election.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MESSMER, OTTO H.

LAUDS LINCOLN AS SYMBOL OF AMERICAN LIFE

"No one has ever exerted so much influence upon the thoughts of the entire world as Abraham Lincoln," Otto F. Messmer, acting secretary of the commonwealth's department of revenue, told 190 persons at the annual Lincoln Day dinner of the Adams County Republican committee Friday night at the Hotel Gettysburg.

"Lincoln is the finest example of a self-educated man, an example of our American system," Mr. Messmer declared. "Lincoln symbolizes the ideas of the Republican party, and we must never deviate from those ideals.

"The defeat of the Republican party last November was not because of the record of the 80th Congress," Mr. Messmer continued. "It was not because of the platform adopted by the Republican party at the convention in Philadelphia. It was because

(Please Turn to Page 2)

of the failure of the candidates and the workers to go out and properly appeal to the people for support.

Urges Active Voters

"The greatest obligation of the Republican party today is to see to it that every citizen becomes active in politics and exercises his right to vote. We have no right to talk about the people who hold office if we fail to exercise our rights.

"The struggle today is between those who believe that government should act as the umpire, and those who think that government 'should carry the ball.'"

Mr. Messmer pointed out the threat, both from Communism and the atomic bomb.

"I wonder what Lincoln would say today if he could see Communists among the top leaders in labor unions, and even in seats of power in the government?" he asked.

Government In Business

"American business and free enterprise is well on its way out," the speaker declared. He said that government is already in big business, operating 50 corporations in competition with private business and with public funds. "Don't be surprised if you wake up some day and see a gasoline station across from you operated by the government," he said.

Mr. Messmer said Lincoln was a firm believer in the care of the veteran and his widow and orphan, and that, he added, has been the doctrine of the Republican party. He said, however, that the present administration in Washington, like the New Deal economy measure in 1933, is cutting down on the hospitalization of veterans.

Republicans in Pennsylvania have a program, he said, citing Governor Duff's message to the legislature. He set forth mental health, clean streams, construction of additional farm-to-market roads, development of Indiantown Gap as a playground for underprivileged children, as among the highlights of this program.

Basehore Presides

John H. Basehore, county chairman of the Adams county committee, presided as toastmaster. The program opened with the singing of America and the invocation by Dr. Ralph R. Gresh, pastor of St. James Lutheran church. A mixed chorus of 16 high school voices, under the direction of Richard B. Shade, sang four numbers during the program, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," "This Is My Country," "Spirit of God," and "Charlottetown."

Among those introduced were Mrs. Ethel Tipton, county vice chairman; Clarence C. Smith, state committeeman; Mrs. Helen Myers, vice chairman of Berks county; John Hartman, Franklin county chairman; H. A. Kottcamp, Franklin county state committeeman; former Congressman Chester H. Gross, and State Senator Donald P. McPherson, Jr.

Dr. John Sachs, native of Adams county, for many years connected with the Dupont company, and now a consultant with the naval ordnance depot near Washington, gave a talk on Lincoln, and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was recited by Robert Moser, high school student.

Lasting Address

"Lincoln spoke less than three minutes at the dedication of the National cemetery here on November 19, 1863," Dr. Sachs said, "but he uttered words which will last as long as the world endures.

"Lincoln's address was marked by its simplicity, its factual statements and its prophesies. I think many people may have forgotten 'what they did here,' and remember only what he said here.

"He asked those who heard him to make three 'high' resolves,—that 'hey who died should not have died in vain; that this nation should have 'a new birth of freedom,' and that government should not perish.

"I think we can better understand the Gettysburg Address if we understand Lincoln, the man. He was a keen student of both secular and sacred history. He knew the history of slavery. He had a keen sense of perception, and should go directly to the point.

"Slaves In World"

"The Dred Scott decision was an arrow pointing directly at Gettysburg, because if it were not for this decision, the Civil War might not have been fought. Lincoln did not hate, and he came to see that man's hate is only as deep as his misunderstanding.

"We are living today in a world which Lincoln could never have foreseen, a work of chemistry, of physics and mechanics, a world of atomic power, the ultimate force of the universe.

"There are slaves in the world today, slaves of poverty, ignorance and disease. I know Lincoln would say, if he were here, 'Set them free.'"

The program closed with the benediction by Dr. Gresh.

THE GETTYSBURG TIMES, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1949

Meyerowitz, Nathan

LINCOLN'S QUALITIES

None More Deeply Loved Than Martyred President

Editor, Daily Argus: Today the world celebrates the 121st birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Among all the sons of men that have contributed to progress none is more deeply loved and admired than Abraham Lincoln, who served his country in its greatest trial and died as his work was accomplished.

Lincoln has been dead now almost sixty-eight years. During every day and year of that time, his character has grown as history has made him better known.

I shall describe here some of his many qualities that illustrate the simplicity and nobility of his character. Make the young people in your house, the boys and girls analyse the natural endowments of the colored slaves' Emancipator whose life should inspire us all.

In spite of the lugubrious fact that the system of education was defective in the early part of the Nineteenth Century, and reflected itself on Lincoln, his information was not defective, his sympathies were not defective, and his prowess were not defective.

When a young newspaper mar wrote his life and tried to build up in a brief biography something that would please Lincoln, he mentioned a well-known book as among those that Lincoln had read. Lincoln wrote him very simply that he hadn't read the book, but that he would read it right away, in order to make the statement correct. When his native talents were recognized, life was made easier for Lincoln, fortunately, and his youthfulness of spirit was shown until the day of his death in humorous view that he took of his own troubles and of the charges against him.

Such a man as Lincoln would have been called a demagogue today by those who worship the Golden Calf with debased abjectness, and he was called a demagogue in his own day and worse than a demagogue. But the useless appellations of gossiping tongues did not disturb Abe anymore than the hoarse yelping of a blind puppy annoys a giant African elephant, neither was his usefulness checked by falsehoods. Lies did not frighten Lincoln, nor slander disturb him.

There were in Lincoln's mind no vacuum-laden issues, constitutional or otherwise. His idea was that the power that was in the people, could not be taken away from the people, and could be used by the people as they chose. There would have been no hesitation on Lincoln's part in regard to the right of the people to remove from office, Judge, Governor, President, or any man that the people had put in office through some unforseen error or by some inexplicable phenomenon.

Lincoln was modest and his value to this country was vastly increased by that kind of modesty which many great statesmen of today lack, namely, recognition of the ability of others.

Abe was not merely considerate and diffident in dealing with men of great ability, but patient and long suffering in dealing with the incompetent that were beneath him trying to get the best he could out of them.

He had attained a splendid achievement for his country in getting the best possible work out of country's servants. Every lawyer in the United States, and especially the young lawyers—who have not yet become fixed in their ways, may well read what Lincoln has said concerning the legal profession: "Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser—in fees, expenses and waste of time. As a peacemaker, the lawyer has a superior opportunity of being a good man. There will still be business enough. . ."

American fathers and mothers should teach their children to know and to love Lincoln and honor his memory. He was not a greater or a braver man than George Washington, but he was the equal of George Washington in greatness, courage and accomplishments that could not be beaten down.

He was not as brilliant in some ways as Hamilton, nor as brilliant in other ways as Thomas Jefferson, but Lincoln probably is the greatest American, the greatest man in the history of this country to this day—who rose from the fireplace of a log-cabin to the meteoric heights of the Presidential Chair in the White House.

I feel inclined to quote the verse Lowell wrote in behalf of Lincoln when Abe was assasinated, and when half of the semi-tutored world hated and despised this great, Moses-like Liberator of the colored slaves:

"He knew to bide his time,
And can his fame abide,
Still patient in his simple faith sublime,
Till the wise years decide.
Great captains with their guns and drums
Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes;
These all are gone, and standing like a tower,
Our children shall behold his fame.
The kindly earnest grave, forseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
New birth of our, new soil, the first American."

NATHAN MEYEROWITZ

ST VERNON N Y ARGUS
FEBRUARY 12, 1930

Miles, Gen. Nelson A.

Never Violate The Laws, Lincoln Said

General Miles, Retired, Addresses Press Club of Chicago, Quoting From Lincoln's Speeches.

1925

Chicago, Feb. 12.—When Abraham Lincoln said, "to violate the laws is to trample on the blood of one's father, and to tear the charter of his own children's liberty," he foresaw the dangers that would environ our institutions, General Nelson A. Miles, retired Civil War participant and Indian fighter, told the Press club of Chicago today.

"Lincoln's prayer that America might be the scene of two revolutions, one against slavery and one against drunkenness, has been fulfilled," General Miles added.

"At the age of 28 years," said General Miles, "Lincoln added a wise political philosophy in the following language, 'Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well wisher of his posterity, swear by the blood of the revolution, never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation by others.' "

Miles, Nelson A.

HOW LINCOLN WON SOLDIERS' HEARTS TOLD BY WARRIOR

Emancipator Was in Tents With Wounded, Says Nelson A. Miles.

HIS MEMORY IS HONORED

Thousands of Chicagoans Observe Birth of Illinois' Greatest Son.

Chicago Record Herald 2-13-14.

Abraham Lincoln's birthday anniversary was celebrated by Chicago yesterday with a new reverence born of the knowledge that the links that bind the martyred President with the generation of today are fast disappearing. For the first time the men who knew Lincoln well took no conspicuous part in the exercises of the day.

Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, who came out of the civil war a division commander and a major general, but whose personal contact with the President was limited to a few chance meetings in the Army of the Potomac, was the only speaker at Chicago celebrations who was able to tell a first-hand Lincoln story. It was a typical one.

HOW LINCOLN WON HEARTS.

"I'll tell you why Abraham Lincoln was the man who was always first in the heart of the American soldier," he said.

"In the Army of the Potomac, when I first met President Lincoln, he was not to be found in the tents of the generals, where you may be sure he was welcome. His time was spent in the hospital tents, where our wounded lay and where his heart was when he was not actually in our camps."

Other Chicagoans who had known the martyred President intimately joined in the various celebrations of his birthday, which were held under the auspices of various organizations, but their part in them was an inconspicuous one. The tributes to the memory of the Emancipator were paid for the most part by men who were too young to remember him if they had met him and some of whom were not born when his assassination occurred.

AT MARTYR'S FUNERAL.

One of the Chicagoans who had known Lincoln spent his day at his desk performing the duties to which the President had assigned him. He was Simeon W. King, United States commissioner for the northern district of Illinois. He was appointed to his post by Lincoln, and was one of the six men who carried his body to the grave at Springfield.

"It's the best tribute I can pay to the man whom it is an honor to have known," he explained. "I know that the performance of my duty would be what would please him most."

William R. Manierre, who was on the platform of the "Wigwam" at the time Lincoln was nominated, celebrated the day by a visit to the Chicago Historical Society rooms where relics of the martyred President are on exhibition.

Captain Stephen B. Hanks, a first cousin of the martyred President, took his daily post near the stove of a hotel at Albany, Ill., and sat there until nightfall spinning yarns about his honored relative.

MANUSCRIPT IS FOUND.

A new Lincoln manuscript made its appearance in Chicago yesterday. Frank J. Logan, a collector of relics of the martyred President, purchased a legal document executed by Lincoln in 1847.

"I know Lincoln's signature as well as I know my own," Mr. Logan said, "and I was so excited at the opportunity to add to my collection that I forgot to ask where the paper came from or the name of my caller. I think he was a man named Levy who buys and sells such things."

The document is one known as a dedimus, granting the right to the law firm of Lincoln & Herndon to take testimony in New York State in the case of John Werner vs. John Calhoun. It is entirely in Lincoln's handwriting with the exception of the signature of S. T. Logan, the attorney for the defendant.

LINCOLN'S OWN BIOGRAPHY.

"Herewith is a little sketch of my life as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me."

Thus wrote Abraham Lincoln to J. W. Fell of Springfield, Ill., on Dec. 20, 1859. Inclosed was the sketch—less than 300 words in all.

The letter and the autobiography accompanying it were read last night by W. W. Carnes at a Lincoln's birthday celebration held at the Auditorium Hotel by Lincoln Council, No. 68, National Union.

"I was raised to farm work," Lincoln wrote, "at which I continued until I was 22. Then I was a sort of clerk in a store at New Salem, Ill."

After briefly recounting his political experiences, Lincoln continued:

"From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, I studied law more assiduously than before. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise aroused me again."

"If any personal description of me is desirable," Lincoln concluded, "it may be said that I am in height six feet four inches nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average 180 pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes—no other marks or brands recollected."

O'HARA LAUDS EMANCIPATOR.

Various phases of Lincoln's life were discussed and various applications of his doctrines to modern problems were made by the speakers at the celebrations held during the day.

Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara, in an address at the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Evanston, declared that if Lincoln were alive today he would have enlisted in "the combat to free the white slaves" as he had in his fight to free the black ones.

"No greater crimes have ever been committed than those of child labor and the inadequate payment of girls and women who are driven into the industrial world," he said. "The employer who makes an exorbitant profit through the payment of starvation wages to the women and girls in his service stands identically in the position occupied fifty-three years ago by the owner of black slaves.

"In twenty years, by the time our children have grown up, there will be no such thing as race prejudice. By that time we will have outgrown such a mean feeling.

"There has been no race in the history of the world which has made as much progress in the past fifty years as the negro."

DENEEN VOICES PRAISE.

Charles S. Deneen, former governor, told the Engineers' Club that it was the logic of Lincoln's speeches rather than the fervor of his anti-slavery oratory that defined the issue so as to rally to the cause of a distracted union all the forces which favored the maintenance of the national integrity.

"It was the same breadth of view which characterized his conduct of the war, and not only saved the nation but perpetuated it," he said.

The Illinois Society, Daughters of 1812, celebrated the day with a luncheon at the Hotel LaSalle. Mrs. Samuel W. Earle, president of the society, presided.

Betsy Ross Tent, Daughters of Veterans, met in Palmer Park Assembly Hall last night and listened to an address by Charles J. O'Connor on Lincoln.

Bishop Charles Edward Cheney of the Reformed Episcopal church, denied that Lincoln was an infidel. He spoke before an audience of Grand Army men in Memorial Hall in the public library.

"If proof is wanted of Lincoln's belief in a personal deity, go to any of his numerous biographies," he said. "Instances are not wanting of his reliance on prayer to sustain him in the trials of the civil war."

"FOREORDAINED OF GOD."

"In all reverence the life of Lincoln may be likened to that of the lowly Nazarene," declared Judge John F. McGoorty in an address at a Lincoln anniversary celebration at Eckhart Park last night. "Lincoln was a man of sorrows, foreordained of God to ennoble the human race. He died wearing the crown of martyrdom. The Union, established by Washington, found in Lincoln its saviour."

Memorial exercises under

Memorial exercises under the auspices of the Advisory Council of the Illinois Commission for the Half Century Anniversary of Negro Freedom were held last night in Quinn Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Twenty-fourth street and Wabash avenue. Speakers included Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, retired; Frank F. Dickson, the adjutant general Illinois National Guard; Representative Martin B. Madden, State Senator W. Duff Piercy and Professor Richard H. Cole of the Sumner High School of St. Louis.

Tribute was paid to the memory of the great martyr in speech and song at the meeting of the Artcraft Institute Guild at the Hotel Sherman yesterday. Mrs. T. Vernette Morse was the principal speaker.

The British Empire Society heard an eulogy of Lincoln delivered by Rev. W. H. Carwardine at its meeting at the Auditorium Hotel last night.

"Lincoln was the personification of the spirit of the common people of America," he said. "Incarnated in one remarkable personality was a man of the people and for the people; a lawyer, philosopher, poet, orator, statesman and humanitarian."

The enfranchised women of Chicago and the good that it is in their power to do were compared by Election Commissioner Anthony Czarnecki to Abraham Lincoln and his service to mankind in freeing the slaves. Mr. Czarnecki addressed the Woman's Democratic League of the Thirty-first ward in the Social Hall at West Fifty-ninth and South Halsted streets.

BANQUET FOR EMPLOYES.

The W. D. Allen Manufacturing Company, brass founders, celebrated the day by giving a banquet to the employes at its Western avenue plant. Miss Amelia Sears of the Chicago Woman's Club was the speaker.

Alfred O. Erickson addressed the Woman's City Club last night at Butler Memorial House. He said in part:

"The Woman's City Club worked toward the freeing of women for many years. Lincoln gave freedom to the slaves. We are approaching the day when women will cast their first ballot in Chicago. Lincoln gave the ballot to the black man as well as the white. It is especially fitting that a gathering of women should this year celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the emancipator."

Colonel W. R. Brinkerhoof made a comparison between the lives of Lincoln and Washington in an address before the Borrowed Time Club of Oak Park.

Miller, James N.

HENRY WATTERSON, LAST OF HIS RACE

By JAMES N. MILLER,
Wichita, Kansas 1922

The passing of Col. Henry Watterson removes the last of the group of great American journalists who for over fifty years made the newspapers of the country famous. They were personal journalists—it was what they said, not what the paper said, that attracted attention. It is not probable that they will have any successors, for journalism has now become impersonal. No one now knows or cares who is the editor of the New York Tribune. It is the paper itself that is read, not the editor.

Horace Greeley was the first and greatest of the group. Strong and vivid in his writings, he led the way through his Weekly Tribune for the destruction of slavery and the preservation of the Union. The nearest approach to him was Chas. A. Dana, of the Sun, clear, sharp and incisive. Henry J. Raymond, of the Times— Manton Marble, of the World, and James Gordon Bennett (Sr.), of the Herald, while not strong writers themselves, gathered about them able journalists, and built up great papers.

In New England Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield Republican, led the field. Originally a Republican, he became in his later years more independent in politics and opposed some of the policies of his party.

In Cincinnati Murat Holstead and Wash. McLean held their own in editorial writing, though never reaching the celebrity of some of the others. John W. Fordney, of the Philadelphia Press, was an able man, but more prominent in politics than in journalism.

Chicago was dominated for long years by two papers, the Tribune and the Times, the former edited by Joseph Medill and the latter by Wilbur F. Storey. Medill was a Republican, except that he favored free trade, as the paper does today. Yet it is the leading paper of the city. Storey became infected with the virus of copperheadism and he died leaving a broken family and a decaying paper. Now the very name of Times has disappeared from the journalistic field of Chicago.

Last but not least the Louisville Courier-Journal became a power through the writings of George D. Prentice, witty as well as forceful, and the still stronger editorials of Colonel Watterson. In many ways he was the most versatile of all his contemporaries. In a field like New York he would have been still more famous.

The South had at one time some able papers—the Richmond Whig, the Charleston Courier, the Mobile Register and the New Orleans Picayune. All these have lost their eminence, and there is not now south of Mason and Dixon's line a paper of national influence and power, nor a magazine of general circulation.

Whether journalism has gained or lost by becoming impersonal instead of personal is a question having two sides. But it is certain that no succeeding generation will see in our country a group of editors possessing the power, the ability and the fame of these giants of the early days.

J WRIGHT

Mills, Luther Leflin

Miller, Hon. Louis E.

Lincoln Day Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LOUIS E. MILLER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 17, 1944

Mr. MILLER of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am inserting the following address which was delivered by me at the Lincoln Day dinner sponsored by the Republican Clubs of Rhode Island, at Providence, R. I., on Saturday, February 12, 1944:

Mr. Toastmaster, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, we meet tonight to honor the memory of Abraham Lincoln; to recount his contribution to the cause of representative government and to rededicate ourselves to the principles of the party which he founded. I feel a peculiar pride and kinship in this occasion, not only because of your valued invitation to be with you but because I was born within a few miles of Lincoln's birthplace in Kentucky.

It is proper that we should contemplate the life and the accomplishments of this matchless man. There is nothing in history, romance, or realism to compare with his faith in and his fight for the weak and the worthy, the downtrodden and the oppressed, unless it be the life of Him who carried His cross to Calvary. It is to be expected that Lincoln should come from among the humble and lowly of his time, and that a certain mystery should surround his origin. However, this calls for no apology as it finds a commendable counterpart in the lives of the great of this Nation and furnishes living proof that the best leadership to be found in a great crisis is forged in the furnace of human experience and adversity. Now, as at the time of his immortal Gettysburg speech, this Nation is engaged in another great war—a war testing whether Lincoln's concept of human liberty, human diginity, and human sovereignty under God shall be supplanted and superseded by the iniquitous proposition that a state socialistic government of bureaucracy, by bureaucracy, and for bureaucracy shall now despoil the earth.

While the Nation fights a global war to rid the world of foreign dictators, the starry-eyed planners and disciples of the discredited and almost defunct New Deal insist upon establishing and maintaining a domestic dictatorship in Washington. The purpose of these plotters is plain. They attempt to tear down American institutions as well as our form of government and substitute instead the master plan of state socialism. Shall we allow them to succeed? Shall we win the war but in doing so lose our constitutional form of government? Shall we sacrifice priceless American lives and treasure in destroying foreign dictatorships and the evils which they have inflicted upon the world only to set up a scheme for a permanent dictatorship here? The answer is an emphatic "No." They cannot succeed if the American people are aroused to a full realization of their foul purposes.

The issue today is far more important than was the great issue of Lincoln's time. The question that confronts us now is whether men shall remain free or whether they shall become the helpless pawns of those who hold the reins of power. In Lincoln's time, when our Nation was in its second great crisis, the intelligent and courageous citizenry of the country rose to the emergency and saved the Union. In this third crisis, you are called upon to render a greater service, and see to it that while the boys are fighting and winning the battle for democracy upon every front of the world, we do not lose it here at home.

For nearly 11 years the New Deal party has controlled our Government in Washington. It has made the laws, fixed the taxes, issued the orders, and fashioned the policies under which we live. The failure of this party to cope with and solve the peacetime problems of 1933 to 1941 proves its unfitness to meet and surmount the problems of a perilous post-war period, and to wage and win a global war requires more ability, courage, and brains than is necessary to administer a boondoggling W. P. A. project.

Lincoln knew, sympathized with, and loved his fellowmen. He had implicit faith in the common sense of his fellow man. Lincoln also had faith in and followed our constitutional form of government. He believed that human rights in large measure depended upon property rights. He strongly upheld the right to own property in these words: "Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; it is a positive good in the world; that some should be rich shows that others may become rich and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise." Thus Lincoln stated his belief in human rights and the rights of labor as well as his belief in the right to own property. He believed that these rights were guaranteed every American under the Constitution.

The New Deal Party has become the mouthpiece of the Socialist and Communist Party in America. It abandoned the Democratic platform in 1932 and has since followed the Socialist and Communist plat-

Congressional Record 2/17/44

forms. The hands may have been the hands of Esau but the voice is the voice of Jacob. The support given the New Deal during the past 11 years by Communist Browder and his crowd of left wingers, shows that its policies have been so pink that the Communists saw red.

In the crisis of 1860 when the Nation stood at the crossroads—one way pointing toward slavery and the other toward the abolition of slavery, Lincoln repeatedly exclaimed: "This Nation cannot exist half slave and half free." Today another so-called Democratic Party has brought the Nation to another crossroads—with one way pointing toward private enterprise and free labor and the other pointing toward totalitarianism and slave labor. This Nation cannot exist half communistic and half capitalistic. There is no half-way place as proposed by the New Deal. We must either continue the profit system or abolish it. Whether we wish it or not, this is and will be the great domestic issue of the coming campaign. I have no fear of testing this issue on the public platform and in the ballot box, but I do resent a surreptitious attempt to foist this brand of New Deal socialism upon the American people, under the pretext of a war emergency while promising them constitutional government.

Another great problem with which we must deal is the centralization of power in Washington. After November of this year Rhode Island will be able to receive some first-hand reports from its Republican representatives in Washington. This power has steadily increased until it threatens the foundations of State and local government. Each day boards and bureaus pass hundreds of regulations in the maladministration of public affairs, which are not approved by the people's representatives in Congress. There is no way in the world for the average businessman, and especially the small businessman, to keep informed of these voluminous rulings, edicts, and directives which have the effect of law. And if you should unknowingly violate one of these bureaucratic edicts you will not be tried by a jury, but you will be summarily summoned before a board of political parasites and penalized according to rules promulgated by some ex-professor who has never had one day's actual business experience before coming to Washington. And there is no appeal to the courts. The citizen is presumed to be wrong even before he is tried. This is bureaucracy at its best.

What is the philosophy that pervades the centralization of power in Washington and the staggering growth of bureaucracy? Is it the well-known practice of the politically minded New Deal to place upon the public pay roll every potential voter? An examination of the record will throw some light on this interesting subject.

Under the New Deal the bloated bureaucracy of Washington boasts over 3,000,000 Federal civilian employees, which means an average of about 1 Federal employee to every 43 citizens. One agency of this New Deal octopus, the O. P. A., boasts a proud pay roll listing over 2,700 lawyers. While a similar organization in England, after which the Washington plan was largely copied, gets along with only 10 attorneys. The great State of Pennsylvania conducts its business with 44,000 State employees, while at the same time the bloated bureaucracy of Washington maintains 214,000 Federal employees on its pay roll for that State; the State of Wyoming transacts its business with fewer than 1,000 employees, but the Federal Government maintains over 6,000 on its pay roll to handle the Federal business of this sparsely settled State.

When Jefferson was President there was 1 Federal employee to every 5,308 citizens.

But the obligation of the taxpayer does not end here. He must support his State, county, and municipal government. There are approximately 3,237,000 at present employed in local and State government. This makes a vast army of 6,337,000 Federal, State, and municipal employees—a ratio of about 1 to every 21 persons. However, when you consider that in ordinary times there are only about 42,000,000 persons gainfully employed, this leaves a ratio of 1 civilian Government employee to a little more than every 6 wage earners. If we add 11,000,000 men and women in the military services on the basis of the above figures, there are, roughly, 2½ private workers supporting 1 person hired by the Government.

During the reign of Diocletian, A. D. 285, Lactantius wrote that the time had come when there were almost as many tax gatherers as there were taxpayers in the Roman Empire. The burdens of taxation became so oppressive that it was no longer profitable to cultivate the soil and as a consequence the farmers abandoned the soil, which soon grew up in weeds and woodlands. Then the Roman Empire decayed and fell.

According to the President's recent message to Congress, the public debt at the end of the fiscal year on June 30, 1945, will aggregate $258,000,000,000. We are told that this debt may reach the tremendous sum of $300,000,000,000, or twice the assessed valuation for every piece of property, real, personal, tangible, or intangible on the assessment rolls of the various States. If the public debt should amount to twice the assessed value of all property in the Nation, then it would be very much like living in a $5,000 home upon which had been placed a $10,000 mortgage.

What does this stupendous sum mean in terms of dollars and cents to the average individual and the average family? What does it mean to the millions of peacetime workers of all types in America who constitute the bone and sinew of this Republic, and who must earn the taxes to pay for the waste and the bungling of 12 years of New Deal bureaucracy?

Assuming that we have a population of 130,000,000 persons and a national debt of $300,000,000,000, that would mean a per capita personal debt by the individual to the Government of $2,307. If we assume further that the average family consists of four, and that the average annual income of this family before the war was approximately $1,500, this means that the share of each family in the total national debt, if it reaches $300,000,000,000, will be $9,229 per family. But do not forget the fact that out of this annual income of $1,500 must first come the living expenses of four people, together with the annual operating costs, not only of the Federal Government, but of the State, county, and municipal branches as well, together with payments on the outstanding State, county, and municipal bonds. And, if the family is in debt, that too must be paid.

Let us get down to cases and see just who is paying and will pay the tremendous waste which will aggregate billions of dollars in the war effort. The records of the Treasury Department show that in 1944 over 67,000,000 people will receive incomes of $157,000,000,000 and pay $22,000,000,000 in Federal and personal taxes. A break-down of these figures shows that 21,600,000 individuals, including heads of families, will receive this year over $19,000,000,000 in incomes of $1,000 or less, or an average income of $890 per year per person, and will pay $500,000,000 in Federal and personal taxes. Over 24,000,000 more individuals including heads of families, will also receive in 1944 over $42,000,000,000 in incomes ranging from $1,000 to $2,000 and pay over $4,000,000,000 in Federal and personal taxes.

The records of the Treasury Department also disclose that over 12,000,000 more individuals will receive over $34,000,000,000 in incomes ranging from $2,000 to $3,000 a year and will pay over $3,000,000,000 in Federal and personal taxes.

It must not be forgotten that 60 percent of the 1944 income is going to people with incomes under $3,000 and 80 percent of the total 1944 income will go to those with annual incomes of $5,000 a year or less. These are the people who will pay the heavy taxes.

The present Administration, following the platform of the Communist Party in 1928, would limit all incomes to $25,000 a year. Let us see what the record shows. The Treasury report indicates that 110,000 individuals will receive $7,000,000,000 in incomes of $25,000 and over, and pay back in taxes $4,400,000,000. If you would take the entire income of every person in the United States who will receive $25,000 or more in 1944, you would only add $3,000,000,000 to the Treasury of the United States.

I will go along with anyone in cutting war profits to the bone and in reducing excess incomes to a minimum, but I will not support a policy limiting incomes to $25,000 or $5,000 a year, and thereby take the incentive out of competitive business. Therefore, when we speak of wanton waste and the staggering sum of the public debt, it will be shown that 60 cents out of every dollar wasted must come from taxpayers earning less than $3,000 a year and 80 cents out of every dollar dissipated must come from those earning less than $5,000 a year.

While this war is making entirely too many millionaires in industry through excess profits and while excess profits are being taken by some both in labor and in industry, thousands of small businessmen are being forced to the wall financially because of conditions beyond their control. The reason for the unfortunate failure of thousands of small businesses has been due to their inability to obtain needed peacetime materials and help. These people too are paying heavy taxes.

The question arises after 11 years of the New Deal. Are one-third of our people still ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed? According to the Labor Department, a minimum wage budget for a family of 4 runs from $1,541 a year to as high as $1,809 a year, with an average of approximately $1,700 a year for a family of 4. This means that after 11 years of the New Deal, over 37,000,000 Americans are living on an average income of approximately one-half the amount the Labor Department says a family of 4 requires for a decent living in the 33 largest cities.

The Treasury records reveal that 7,450,000 more heads of families will receive incomes this year of from $1,000 to $1,500, which means that over 29,000,000 more Americans are earning less than what the Labor Department has laid down as a decent living wage.

Summarizing these two last groups alone, and not including 12,250,000 single persons with incomes of $1,000 or less, we find 16,820,000 heads of families supporting or trying to support 67,820,000 Americans on incomes of $1,500 or less.

When the New Deal party in the coming campaign points with pride to the $157,000,000,000 wartime income produced by the issuance of bonds and taxes, let them point to these 67,000,000 Americans in the low-income group and answer the question of whether or not there are now, after 11 years of the New Deal, not one-third but approximately one-half of the population which is ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed.

While we are thinking of the plight of the small wage earner let us never forget the condition of the small businessman; a man who risks his entire capital and the effort of a lifetime in building up some small but useful enterprise to his community. Frequently, from these small businesses spring the ideas and the sinews from which are built the larger businesses that make possible the employment of greater numbers of our citizens.

I believe that small manufacturers, who are able to do so, should be permitted to resume the production of civilian goods now. Such a policy, if followed, will mean that

thousands of small plants will not have to go broke while waiting for the big manufacturers to get out of war production. We want to provide full employment, lower prices, increased production, and a stronger competitive position for small business. The return to civilian production now is the solution to the problem.

America has become and should remain the most highly industrialized Nation in the world. American ingenuity, scientific skill, and initiative have amazed the Axis world with its unparalleled production of the implements of war. As phenomenal as this record has been, it has been made possible by the magnificent cooperation and contribution of American labor. Free American labor, working with and under a system of free American enterprise, has won the battle of production against the slave labor and the conscripted enterprise of Germany. Employers and employees alike have given freely of their sons, their sweat, and their savings to win the war and sustain the system of free enterprise. We must think of the years that lie ahead. We must think in terms of the America of tomorrow. We must think in terms of the sons and the daughters of present-day employers and employees and keep for them the kind of America which has always afforded the greatest opportunity to the greatest number of people.

When I speak of free enterprise, I mean that system here under which men have been free to engage in manufacture and trade, in the arts and professions, that system which we have modified and tempered in accordance with the march of time and what we call progress. I mean, too, what we call social progress, social legislation. I mean, too, the continuance of the ever closer growing partnership between capital and labor, between employer and worker, under which the right of labor to work and enter into collective bargaining through representatives of its own choosing, has become the law of the land.

There are those who are willing to junk this system for some planned economy which in Germany and Italy made paupers of employers and peons of employees.

Lincoln's own conception of the democratic system and private enterprise was expressed in the following words: "That form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the role of life."

There are times when we grow faint of heart and sick at the sight of what has been done during the past 11 years to change and destroy our beneficent form of government.

But our lives are as nothing compared with the cause to which Lincoln long years ago so courageously dedicated our party. May you, the leaders of that party, standing unflinchingly in defense of the ideals which Lincoln served so faithfully, hear once more down through the ages, his heartening words at a council of war, when the cause of the Union seemed to have ebbed to its lowest level as he said, "Courage, gentlemen, it is almost daybreak."

America, tonight, and in the dark days that lie ahead, has need to remember the great courage, clear vision, and matchless leadership of Lincoln.

America needs in Congress, in the councils of the party and from Rhode Island, men of high courage and clear vision; men who do not merely occupy a political job but who feel that they have a higher and more sacred service to render; America needs a Congress whose Members consider themselves priests in the temple of legislation, selected to serve at her altars and aid in her administration; America needs a Republican Party in office that thinks of democracy, not as a symbol but as a sure shield of protection. It needs a party that will maintain and defend at all times the inalienable rights of life, labor, and property, upon which the safety of government depends, against the encroachments of dictators, either domestic or foreign. It needs a party in power now and in the days to come with enough of the courage, vision, and leadership of Lincoln, as will see to it that this form of government shall not perish from the earth.

Letter to the London Daily Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 17, 1944

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

FEBRUARY 17, 1944.

The AMERICAN EDITOR,
Trans-Atlantic Division,
The London Daily Mail,
New York City, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: I have read with amazement, if not chagrin, the article entitled, "Snap Judgment Won't Do on Palestine," one of George Murray's weekly commentaries from the London Daily Mail. I suspected when the microfilm edition of the Daily Mail was to be published in the United States that it was to be done for propaganda purposes. To say the least, English public relations in the United States have been for many years abominable. For example, the hostility of the great bulk of Irish Americans in the United States has never been assuaged. The British Information service and other agencies have been eminently unsuccessful in that regard. The weekly editions of the Daily Mail will likewise be as useless as slops going down the drain, if it offers such inane and ridiculous propaganda as that of its correspondent George Murray. The same appears on page 6 of the American edition of the weekly digest of the Daily Mail dated Wednesday, February 2, 1944. It attempts to justify the British white paper. It attempts to justify the adamant and cold-blooded attitude of the British Colonial Office toward the Jews in Palestine. It speaks of pledges given to the Arabs and specifically mentions the so-called McMahon pledge, and implies that it offered independence to the Arabs and that the position of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine rests on that pledge.

That conclusion is as false as a theatrical storm. As far as Palestine is concerned, it was promised only once, and then to one people only—namely, the Jews. That promise is involved in the Balfour Declaration of 1917. This declaration was abetted and accepted by 52 nations, including the United States, and was interpreted at the time of its issuance as a pledge to set up a national homeland for the Jews. The Arabs were aware of this. Not a word of protest was voiced against the declaration by any Arab inside of Palestine, or outside of Palestine. Mr. Murray and the British colonial office now create a dust storm to confuse the issues.

As to the McMahon pledge made to the Arabs as a condition precedent for their going into the war against Turkey, not one mention was made therein of Palestine.

The pledge of independence of Arabs was limited by McMahon to Arab territory exclusive of French interests in Syria, and Palestine was administratively a part of Syria. Furthermore, if Mr. Murray knew his business, he would have consulted the life and letters of Sir Henry McMahon. The latter wrote, under date of March 12, 1922, a letter to the British Government wherein he stated that Palestine was to be excluded from the area of Arab independence. He wrote another letter to the editor of the London Times on July 23, 1937, when he said, "I feel it my duty to state, and do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge [of independence] to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised."

What about the pledge that England gave to the United States in the form of a treaty of 1924, wherein England agreed that there were to be no restrictions on immigration into Palestine on the grounds of race or religion? The Malcolm MacDonald white paper of 1939 does restrict immigration on the grounds of race and religion. Jews are barlocked after April 1, 1944.

What about the concurrent resolution of Congress adopted in 1922, favoring the Balfour Declaration as the basis for ceding of Palestine to Great Britain as a mandatory power? England thus flouts the Congress of the United States. It sells Palestine down the river as a Jewish homeland. It would freeze the Jews in Palestine as a permanent ghetto. Arabs may come in without hindrance. Also the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League not only refused consent to the white paper, but condemned it.

I warn Britain that she is only a trustee of Palestine. She does not own it. At the next peace conference it will be wrested from her unless she acts as an honorable trustee and not as a highway robber that puts a gun at the head of the cestui que trust.

The British Cabinet itself felt that this proposed solution for the future of Palestine was not based on the merits of the case when it issued the white paper. It was based rather on political expediency. This is evident from a statement reputedly made by Lord Halifax, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, now British Ambassador here, that "there are times when ethical considerations must yield to practical necessity." That is a fine bit of sophistry. If such practical necessity may be deemed just, I say "there is a point beyond which even justice becomes unjust."

Winston Churchill called the debate on the white paper in 1939 a melancholy occasion and that the paper itself was like the filing of a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy, and that it was a breach of trust. He said, "How can he find it in his heart to strike them [Jews] this mortal blow?"

No amount of palaver or balderdash in the Daily Mail can justify this white paper. The Daily Mail must think we are a bunch of infants in America and need her as a wet nurse. The Daily Mail had better change its tactics else there will be trouble and plenty of it.

In a little over 1 month, Jews will be barred from Palestine. How ill have the Jews used Palestine that now the one open door must be slammed shut in their search for dignity and security? Indeed, they husbanded its arid soil, made it rich in the fruits of the earth. They built hospitals for Jews and Arabs alike. They brought music and science that had been left behind in civilization's march.

The British Colonial Office says, "Let the Jews go elsewhere." That is said in mocking parallel to, "Let them eat cake."

Many suggestions have been made for havens for Jews. How fruitful were these suggestions is revealed by the attitude tersely expressed by the Australian delegate at the refugee conference at Evian. "Gentlemen," he said, "we in Australia have no racial problem, thank God. We do not intend to have one started." That summation is brilliant in its brevity, finality, and tragedy. Palestine is the only place where the Jews are not

Mills, Luther Laflin

Miller D. D., Rufus W.

FOR LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we praise thy holy Name for thy loving kindness and tender mercy to us and to all men. Thou art everywhere and at all times a succor and support to those in distress. Thou art the One Who buildeth up nations and casteth them down; the Source of all national greatness, without Whose continual support and guidance no people can prosper.

We thank Thee that along the whole path of history, in the dark hours of trial and distress, Thou hast raised up leaders for thy people; men who understood the needs of the hour, who possessed the skill to guide and the courage to execute. We especially thank Thee that in our nation's hour of peril, when civil war threatened our dissolution, Thou didst call from obscurity a leader who revered Thee, sought the ways of righteousness and humility; one endowed with prophetic wisdom, conquerless courage and wondrous skill and patience, who guided the nation through the bitter years of strife and brought us in triumph to unity and peace; that from the danger of dissolution and destruction, Thou didst raise us up to be a mighty nation, the hope and refuge of oppressed peoples, a light and a guide to nations of the earth in all the ways of political freedom and righteous dealing. And we pray that we may ever remember that Thou art the source of all our blessings, and that to forget Thee and thy commandments and to seek in our own wisdom, to walk according to our own devices will bring upon our nation certain disaster. Fill us, we pray Thee, with ever-growing reverence for Thee, with increasing faith and trust in thy fatherly wisdom and care, so that we may go forward to achieve the great end for which Thou hast called our nation into existence, and unto Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit shall be all the praise, world without end. *Amen.*

Owen

(EXCERPTED FROM)

"DAILY DEVOTIONS

AN AID TO PRIVATE AND FAMILY WORSHIP"

BY;- RUFUS W MILLER, D.D.

HEIDELBERG PRESS

PHILADELPHIA 1922

Mills, Luther Laflin

TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

Compiled by HERBERT WELLS FAY, *Custodian Lincoln's Tomb*

Luther Laflin Mills

A generation or two ago, Luther Laflin Mills was in great demand to furnish the closing oratorical peroration of an important law case or to fill out a patriotic program. His words stirred the hearts of the people. His tribute to Lincoln is a sample of his power: He says:

In his mentality Lincoln shone in judgment, common sense, consistency, persistence, knowledge of men.

In his words he was candid and frank but accurate and concise, speaking sturdy Anglo-Saxon unadorned, powerful in its simplicity and the subdued enthusiasm of earnest thought.

In his sentiments he was kind and patient and brave. No leader ever more completely combined in his personality the graces of gentleness with rugged determination.

In his morals truth was his star; honesty the vital air of his living. In his religion he was faithful as a saint; Providence was his stay; he walked with God.

As president, his life and declarations were a constant sermon. The solemn air which colored this man's career was the pathos of faith. No man has lived in high station in America by whom the religious fact was more regarded.

He was more than a politician, as the term is used. His plans were based on his convictions of the right and his belief in the correctness of men's ultimate judgments and the conscience of the people inspiring them.

Publicly, he was a diplomat, who with keenest analysis corrected the state papers of a great premier; a man of mighty genius, who changed the plans of generals and successfully modified theories of campaigns. In his leadership he marched with his people, kept step with his soldiers.

Minkin, Rabbi

Daily N. Eagle
Feb 11
1929

Tribute to Lincoln

By Rabbi Minkin

A tribute to Abraham Lincoln was paid on Friday evening by Rabbi Jacob S. Minkin at Bnai Israel Community Center. He said in part:

"There is probably no man who by universal concurrence might be called the world's greatest. Measured by ability, achievement and character, America has long since placed the name of Abraham Lincoln as the one man in our history who is pre-eminently entitled to be called great. No other American has captured the heart and affections of the American people as much as he. No other man has become the hero, the theme and subject of great and small, of young and old, of rich and poor, of wise and simple as much as our first martyred President.

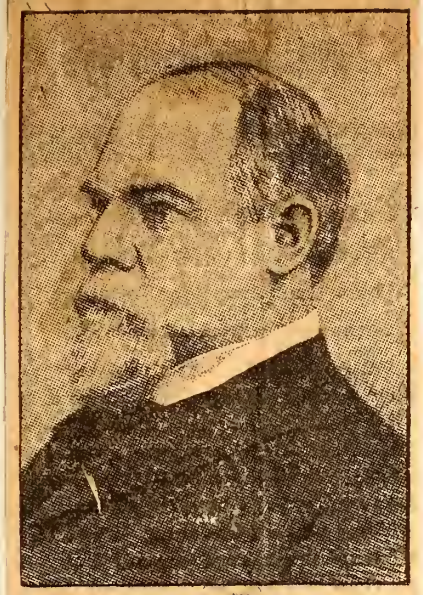
"Mankind loves to weave stories and legends around the men it esteems and loves most, and there is no man in history who can approach Lincoln in this tribute of the world. Veiled, mysterious and elusive, Abraham Lincoln has ceased to be a reality and has become a kind of sacred myth and legend. When one of his contemporaries exclaimed, 'I believe in the Almighty and in Father Abraham,' he correctly stated the world's estimate of the man.

"Abraham Lincoln was a good man, the greatest moral force the world has ever produced. The doctrine of loving one's enemies has been lived and practiced by few men as by Abraham Lincoln. His goodness was indiscriminate. His love was for all men. No such barriers as men created in later ages, such as race, color and religion, counted with him for much. The faith that all men were created free and equal was to him a reality. He scorned the possibility of a double code of morals, one for masters and another for slaves.

"There is a lesson in the life of the Man of the Ages for the ages. No need, say the Rabbis, of erecting monuments for the world's truly great men, for their lives are their greatest monuments. And the monument which Abraham Lincoln has set up for himself is his quality of goodness. The world has had great men and wise men, but it may be doubted whether the world has ever had a man as good as Abraham Lincoln.

"Perhaps none of the problems which Lincoln faced will ever confront the American people again. That for which he lived and fought and died has become the settled policy of this nation. But there is still need of that kind, gentle and loving heart of Lincoln. There is need of that simple and unaffected goodness of his soul. There are currents moving across the land which tend to disrupt that national unity which Lincoln fought and died to preserve. I mean currents of hate, prejudice and of national and religious antagonism. At such time there is no more effective weapon than to appeal once more to that great and generous heartof America of which Lincoln was the symbol. Every Lincoln anniversary should be a rededication of America to the heart of Abraham Lincoln, as in his Gettysburg address he called the people of America to rededicate themselves to the ideals of those who lay buried in that consecrated ground.

Mitchell, Hon. C. E.



LATE HON. C. E. MITCHELL.

Just before his death, on March 17, 1911, the late Charles E. Mitchell prepared an address on "Lincoln and Emancipation," which he never delivered. Mr Mitchell was a great admirer of President Lincoln, and a great student of his life and the events which made his leadership most valuable to the cause of the union through the stirring times previous to and following the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.

The address was read on Sunday by Rev. Henry W. Maier at the Young Men's Christian association, an organization with which Mr. Mitchell was for many years connected, and has been read also to members of the Men's Bible class of the First church, the class of which he was leader for years.

The late Charles E. Mitchell's story of "Lincoln and Emancipation" follows:

The act which lifts the name of Abraham Lincoln nearest to the stars is his great emancipation proclamation. By the majority of mankind this act is looked upon as his crowning title to the world's remembrance. The emancipation proclamation was promulgated January 1, 1863. For nearly two years the civil war had dragged its slow length along. Beginning with the fall of Sumter, it had been in the east disastrous and discouraging to the national forces. The fortunes of war had seemed to move in a curious circle, for the battle of Bull Run in 1862 repeated a disaster, which, occurring in the same place and bearing the same name, had overtaken the union forces in the summer of the previous year. The splendidly equipped army of McClellan had been driven back from within sight of the steeples of Richmond. Its ragged remnant had been called back to the defense of Washington. As if by magic the theater of war in the east had shifted, and in the summer of 1862, the armies of Lee and Jackson were threatening the national capital at its very gates. With little doubt the summer of 1862 saw the union cause at the lowest ebb of its adverse fortunes. The war had not yet produced a general with a recognized genius for fighting. Although Grant had attracted attention at Fort Donelson and later on, no warrior had yet appeared whose achievements indicated a providential calling to the work of suppressing the rebellion. Confusion reigned within the union lines along the Potomac. Cabinet councils were discordant. Generals were jealous of each other. Halleck was at his wits end. The clerks in the departments in Washington were called to arms. Pope, who had fought the second battle of Bull Run, had proved a terrible disappointment. McClellan was distrusted and by some suspected. Burnside distrusted himself, a fatal fault. The affairs of the nation had reached a crisis. Despite successes in the west, gloom overspread the country. Disaster after disaster had sobered the north, and the illusions with which so many of the northern soldiers had marched merrily to the front of the war had been dispelled forever.

Faithful to His Oath.

Lincoln looked upon slavery in the states as protected by the federal constitution. As president he had sworn to defend the constitution of the United States. To that oath he had been faithful from first to last. But more and more his mind was dwelling upon the aspect which slavery presented as a military menace to the union forces. Why, if in defending the union he meant real warfare, should he permit the bravery of the rebels on the battlefield to be doubled in efficiency by the labors of the bondmen in the cotton field? Why, if he was in deadly earnest, should he refrain from hitting the rebellion in a vital spot? So reasoned the illustrous leader, and on July 13, 1862, he told two members of his cabinet that he was thinking of proclaiming freedom as an exercise of the war power of the constitution. Afterwards, on July 22, he brought the matter up in a cabinet meeting. All excepting his two confidants were taken by surprise. He said that he had fully determined the matter and his purpose was fixed to issue the proclamation; that he only wished advice on such matters as its form and the time of issuing it. The discussion resulted in a decision to await a favorable occasion which would come on the heels of the next decisive victory. The act was accordingly postponed, but then and there Lincoln registered a vow in his own heart that the next success of the federal forces upon the battlefield should be followed by a proclamation of freedom. The battle of Antietam was fought on September 17, 1862. Lee was driven back across the Potomac, abandoned his bold project of invasion, and the hearts of all lovers of the country were cheered by the tidings of a union victory. Lincoln kept his vow and issued the emancipation proclamation January 1, 1863.

Other measures hostile to slavery had preceeded the great proclamation. Butler had attracted attention by his famous description of black fugitives as contraband. Congress had passed an act confiscating all property, including slaves, employed in the rebel service; had abolished slavery in the district of Columbia and all the territories, and later on had enacted a second and more sweeping confiscation act relating to slaves and slavery. Fremont in the west, and Hunter in the east had proclaimed freedom to the slaves within their respective departments. In both cases the orders had been overruled by Lincoln, because they were premature and unauthorized. Lincoln was waiting with almost divine patience for the growth of public opinion, and with almost unexampled tact was inviting its development. But now the bells in the tower of time had struck. The providential hour had come. The president by an act of judgment, which the laps of years has pronounced unerring, had divined the propitious moment. Henceforth the war for the union was to be a war for freedom also. Henceforth a successful war could only end with a nation free as well as united, and under God united as well as free.

Origin of Slavery.

A word may be opportune at this point as to the institution at which Lincoln struck.

Before the Revolutionary war, slavery had no place in the law of England. Chief Justice Holt declared as early as 1697 that "as soon as a negro comes into England he is free." Just before the Revolutionary war, Lord Mansfield, sitting as a judge, declared that "slavery took its rise in positive law, and consequently it was a state contrary to the law of England." But England did not recognize this state of the law as applicable to her colonies. Although Virginia put forth efforts against the slave trade, these efforts had been vetoed by the king of England. In the original draft of the declaration of independence, Jefferson accused the king of warring against human nature, and of violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty by carrying the persons of a distant people into slavery in another hemisphere. This passage was stricken out to meet the wishes of South Carolina and Georgia, but there is no doubt that it expressed the views of a very large portion of those who signed the declaration. Indeed Jefferson held views at that time that might have made him an abolitionist if he had lived in 1860. Washington shared the views of Jefferson. Referring to the slave trade, he expressed the most earnest wish that an "entire stop should be forever put to such a cruel, wicked and unnatural trade." It is not to be concealed, however, that these opinions, though hostile to the slave trade, existed at the same time with practices grotesquely inconsistent with them.

African slavery had come to this country in the days of the English colonies. It had come with the Cavalier. It had come with the Puritan. In the north it yielded early to the influences which made for its extinction. In the south it found a more congenial soil and climate and acquired a deeper and firmer foothold. Nevertheless, its position was apologetic rather than aggressive. It was defended by the few; by the many it was simply tolerated. The fervor for freedom which animated the revolutionary war, favored the sentiment of hostility to slavery. Later on, the framers of the constitution, although grudgingly recognizing the institution as an existing one, nevertheless took extraordinary care that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" should pollute its provisions. It was the general expectation that the prohibition of the slave trade, which the consti-

tution provided for, would throttle the slavery system and cause it to die a natural death. The new republic started out on the highway of the nations, the public mind resting in the thought and expectation that the nation would ultimately become the home of universal freedom.

Country Indebted to Jefferson.

While the convention which framed the constitution was sitting in 1787, an ordinance was passed by the continental congress forbidding slavery in the northwestern territory. This territory afterward became the states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and a part of Minnesota. This ordinance was the work of Jefferson. Afterwards Indiana, as a territory, petitioned many times for the repeal of the anti-slavery article in the ordinance of 1787, but the appeal was made in vain. The indebtedness of the country to Jefferson becomes apparent when it is remembered that Indiana and Illinois might have become slave states, but for the ordinance of 1787. Into what fields of speculation the mind is drawn by the thought that but for Jefferson's ordinance of 1787, Lincoln might have been educated in a slave state, and might have become a slave holder. But such speculations are useless.

It is no part of my purpose to describe the encroachments of the slave power. I content myself with showing that the deflection of thought and action from freedom to slavery was a fundamental departure from the ideals, plans and expectations of the fathers of the republic. I content myself with alluding to the fact that the slave power, after encroachment, upon encroachment, at last, by taking the position that congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories, imposed upon the nation the necessity of either yielding to demands so imperious and exacting as to be intolerable and impossible, or of accepting the alternative of civil war.

Education for Great Work.

A few words now as to the education of Lincoln for his great work. Everybody knows that he was born in a cabin and that the events of his early life were as improbable as the events of a fairy tale. Everybody knows that the school which he attended had but one pupil, and no instructor. He was tall and awkward in person, homely in features. There was nothing about him excepting his expressive eyes that suggested intellectual superiority. But he early became popular, early acquired the confidence of his comrades, early became known as honest Abe, and something about him caused his rustic neighbors to detect in him the promise of future prominence. We have nothing to do here with Lincoln's early life, excepting so far as it qualified him for his career as an emancipator. He early imbibed a hatred for slavery. Floating to New Orleans on a flat boat he witnessed a slave auction, the sight of which impressed him greatly. It made a picture in his mind forever visible. Then and there he vowed that if he should ever have a chance he would hit slavery and hit it hard. Returning to Illinois, he became captain in the Black Hawk war. His principal exploit in that war was saving an old Indian from his own soldiers. Later on he bought a Blackstone's Commentary and studied law. He was drawn into politics and on a second trial was elected to the legislature. There he favored a protest which declared: "The institution of slavery to be founded on both injustice and bad policy." As only one other member stood with him this occasion called for moral courage. Elected to congress in 1846 he offered a bill to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia, and voted for the Wilmot proviso, a measure intended to exclude slavery from the territory acquired by the Mexican war. After a single term in congress, he returned to his law practice in Illinois. There while riding the circuit he mastered geometry, training his mental processes to the conciseness and inevitableness of Euclid's demonstrations. His mind became a storehouse of principles and he acquired the standing of a well read lawyer and successful advocate.

Then came the Kansas-Nebraska bill with its repeal of the Missouri compromise. This was in 1854. The proposed repeal of the Missouri compromise disclosed to the north, the teeth and claws of the slavery system. It became at once the paramount issue in national politics. It came almost unheralded and shook the country like an earthquake. The republican party at once sprung into being. Its first campaign was in 1856, with Freemont as its leader. The new situation called into exercise all the faculties and energies of Lincoln. Lincoln was already the leading candidate of the Anti-Nebraska Partisans for United States senator. It soon appeared that as an old line whig he could not command the support of a little handful of anti-slavery democrats whose votes were necessary. Lincoln's devotion to the great cause was greater than his personal ambition, therefore he urged the election of Lyman Trumbull, an anti-slavery democrat, and Trumbull was made senator by the votes of Lincoln's friends.

Excited, Even Though a Boy.

I cannot forget how greatly I was excited by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The bill was gotten up and championed by Stephen A. Douglas, then popularly known as the "Little Giant." The Missouri compromise of 1820 had made all of the Louisiana cession north of the southern line of Missouri forever free. The Kansas-Nebraska bill repealed this prohibition. It therefore became lawful for slave holders to take their slaves into all free territories. I was then little more than a boy, but it is not too much to say that I was tremendously wrought up by the mighty issues at stake in the threatened contest. I had access to the Congressional Record, and I read every speech in the house or senate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill. I remember to this day the very language of the passage, by which it was hoped to pacify the north and conceal the perfidy of the transaction. The passage read: "It being the intent and meaning hereof neither to legislate slavery into any territory or state, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own institutions, subject only to the constitution of the United States." Nothing could appear more fair upon its face than this language. Its perfidy becomes apparent only when it is kept in mind that the statesmen of the party in control of the nation insisted that the constitution carried slavery into every territory by its own force and vigor. How the people of a territory could override the constitution was not disclosed. The north was aroused as it never had been before on the question of slavery. It was apparent that the slave power had taken an advanced position from which it could be dislodged only by a tremendous effort and many wise men shook their heads, declaring that a war was imminent.

First Heard Name of Lincoln.

I remember too, as if it were yesterday, the first speech of Abraham Lincoln when he entered the senatorial contest against Douglas. At that time I was away from home at school. One day I happened into the little room where students had access to the newspapers. I took up the New York Evening Post. My eyes fell upon a short speech ascribed to one Abraham Lincoln. I had never heard the name before but I never forgot it afterward. As I read the speech I seemed to be carried off my feet and lifted into a new realm of reasoning. Said this newly discovered statesman of the prairies: "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it. We are now far on in the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased but was constanly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis has been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe that this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall. But I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing of all another. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all of the states, old as well as new, north as well as south."

It seemed to me that I had never read anything that voiced so perfectly the sentiments appropriate to the hour. Not long before this I had bought a pamphlet copy of the Dred Scott decision and I had read it with an interest such as I had never felt in any novel. My memories of the Dred Scott decision enabled me to see that my new statesman of the prairies was absolutely right. Thereafter I watched the great Lincoln-Douglas debate with absorbing interest. Lincoln was ambitious to be senator, but his personal ambition was in sub-ordination to his determination to keep slavery from invading the free territories of the United States. To the efforts of Douglas to trap him by questions, he replied that he was pledged to no proposition excepting to the exclusion of slavery in all of the territories of the United States. Lincoln then propounded this question to Douglas: "Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" The friends of Lincoln advised him not to ask this question. They claimed that Douglas

Mitchell, Hon. C. E.

would answer "yes," framing his answer to suit his requirements as a candidate for senator, without regard to its effect upon his prospects as a candidate for the presidency later on. Lincoln believed that the expected answer "yes" might help Douglas to the senatorship, but he also prophesied it would alienate the south and make it impossible for Douglas to become president. He was seeking the triumph of his principles, not his own personal triumphs. The answer of Douglas made him United States senator, as was expected, and it also had the prophesied effect of alienating the south from Douglas as a presidential candidate. By the defeat of Douglas as a candidate for the presidency, Lincoln expected that the only candidate who could possibly carry the north for slavery in the territories would be disqualified. In this he was right, and Lincoln's course attested the astuteness of his judgment, as well as the facility with which he surrendered his prospects to his principles.

Cooper Union Speech.

The next great landmark in Lincoln's career as an anti-slavery man is furnished by his Cooper Union speech, delivered by him in New York, shortly before his nomination for the presidency. After the Douglas debate and his own defeat Lincoln had said: "I wished but did not expect a better result. I have had a hearing on a great and durable question of the age, which I could have had in no other way, and though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten I believe I have made some remarks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone." Noble words of a noble man. In the Cooper Union speech, Lincoln said: "Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is because that much due to the necessity arising from its presence in our nation. But can we while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into national territories, and to overrun us here in the free states? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand for our duty fearlessly and effectively. * * * Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it." It appeared by the great enthusiasm manifested that Mr. Lincoln in this Cooper Union speech conquered the east as he had previously conquered the west.

He now became mentioned as the probable candidate of the republican party for president. The thing to be noticed in this passage quoted from the Cooper Union speech is Mr. Lincoln's recognition of the legality of slavery in the states on the one hand, and on the other hand his invincible opposition to its spread into the national territories. From first to last his career is explained by these two opinions which he entertained. First—he believed that the north had no legal right to attack slavery in the states and second, that it was bound in duty to prevent its spread into national territories, even at the expense of war. To the first opinion he was compelled to come as a constitutional lawyer. To the second he came by the constitution of his being, and as a life long devotee of liberty.

Conference Fails.

Early in this article I sketched the surrounding situation, when in the summer and fall of 1862 Abraham Lincoln, though carrying on the war in good faith to preserve the union, was brought to see that the union cause required the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure. In sketching the situation I touched upon the events that preceded that tremendous act. I called attention to the fact that on July 13, 1862 Lincoln disclosed to two of his secretaries that he was contemplating an Emancipation Proclamation. On the very day before—July 12, 1862, he had called the representatives of the border states to the white house, and asked them if they would not accept compensation for their slaves. He said to them, "How much better for you and your people to take the step which at once shortens the war, and secures substantial compensation for that which is sure to be lost in any other event." He besought them to take the action suggested and thereby help him save our form of government. The conference came to nothing. The representatives of the border slave states dispersed with no reply to Lincoln's appeal excepting a chorus of objections.

The absenee of any favorable response to this appeal seems to have made a decided impression on Lincoln's mind. It was the very next day, as I have said, that Lincoln declared he had about come to the conclusion that emancipation was "absolutely essetial for the welfare of the nation. We must free the slaves," he said, "or ourselves be subdued." Welles tells us that this was the first time that Lincoln had shown any tolerance for the views which he thus expressed. It is well worth our while to consider the exact language of Welles, as recorded in his diary.

"It was a new departure for the president, for until this time, in all our previous interviews, whenever the question of emancipation or the mitigation of slavery had been in any way alluded to, he had been prompt and emphatic in denouncing any interference by the general government with the subject. This was, I think, the sentiment of every member of the cabinet, all of whom, including the president, considered it a local, domestic question appertaining to the states respectively, who had never parted with their authority over it."

It was nine days after the disclosure of his maturing purpose that Lincoln read to his cabinet the proclamation of emancipation, which, he said, he proposed to issue. He declared again that the war was waged for the restoration of the union, but he looked upon emancipation as a "fit and necessary military measure for effecting this object." The proclamation was to be issued January 1, 1863, declaring that the slaves in the states wherein the authority of the union was not recognized should be forever free. Blair was not ready for the proclamation, because he thought it would affect unfavorably the union cause in the border slave states. If there was any other opposition, it was on the part of Seward. Seward suggested that the proclamation ought to be postponed until it could be given to the country supported by a military success. This suggestion met Lincoln's approval, and as he tells us he "put the proclamation aside awaiting the victory."

Although some inklings of this conversation got into print, the secret as a whole was well kept. In ignorance of this fixed purpose of Lincoln, the anti-slavery men of the country kept on denouncing his policy. The New York Tribune in its issue of August 20, 1862, contained an article called the "Prayer of the Twenty Millions," intended to sting Lincoln to the adoption of more radical measures. Lincoln's reply shows little indication of his already fixed resolve, but he cherished it in his heart. Keeping the secret of this resolve to himself he replied in the following language:

"My paramount object," he said, "is to save the union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the union without freeing any slave, I would do it. And if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. And if I could save it by freeing some, and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the union, and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the union." Yet at the end he added: "I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men everywhere should be free."

Great Oration of Webster.

Lincoln was both right and wise in thus standing by the union sentiment of the north. When the war broke out, before and after, the dissolution of the union was unthinkable throughout the north. When the war broke out the preservation of the union had come to be regarded as the hope of freedom on the western continent. The great oration of Daniel Webster in reply to Hayne, delivered in 1830 had been an educational force whose influence was incalculable from the day of its delivery to the beginning of the war. The importance of preserving to posterity the union established by the statesmen of 1787 had been so impressed upon the minds of the people of the north, that no price either in blood or treasure was looked upon as too great to pay for it. For the growth and intensification of this sentiment throughout our civil history down to the beginning of the war, this nation is, undoubtedly, more indebted to Daniel Webster than to any other man.

But alongside with loyalty to the union there had been gradually growing up another sentiment, also destined to become powerful, but of a wholly different character. That sentiment found expression in hatred of slavery. Intensified by the experiences of the war, it had, by the fall of 1862, come to be very powerful in large sections of the country. This it was that called forth the "Prayer of the Twenty Millions."

These two sentiments, one for the union, and the other for the abolition of slavery, both sided for the war, worked together, and yet apart, to bring about at last the triumph of the nation. For a long time they had worked almost wholly at cross purposes, each opposing what the other favored, but the time was coming when they would work together and be at peace with each other.

Attitude Towards Constitution.

The following language of Lincoln explains the connection in his mind

between his regard for the constitution and the laws, and his anti-slavery sentiment. In a letter written at a later date he said:

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember the time when I did not so think and feel. And yet I have never understood that the presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act upon that judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power, and break the oath in using that power. I understood, too, that, in ordinary civil administration, this oath even forbade me practically to indulge my private abstract judgment of slavery. I did understand, however, also, that my oath imposed upon me the duty of preserving means, that government, that nation, of which the Constitution was the organic law. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and constitution altogether."

Advocated Compensation.

Through all of the period in which Lincoln was being brought to see that the emancipation of slaves was a necessary exercise of the war power, he was advocating in one form and another the doctrine of compensated emancipation. But his efforts in that direction were unavailing. Those whom he attempted to befriend thereby, rejected his overtures, and the emancipation proclamation was left to do its mighty work without recompense to them. It was left to do its work I say although emancipation did not immediately follow, but was left to be wrought out by the exigencies of war. The emancipation proclamation did not immediately free the slaves, any more than the declaration of independence immediately created a nation. In both cases, however, a train of events were set in motion which led to the result intended. The war continued on. Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville spread a terrible cloud over the prospects of the nation. McClellan was nominated for president upon the platform that declared the war to be a failure. But Lincoln was elected a second time in the fall of 1864. The war was nearer over than

it seemed when he referred to slavery in his second inaugural address in language which displayed the tenderness and loftiness of his soul, and the own unswerving devotion to the cause in which four years before he had enlisted all of his energies. These were the words of the closing inaugural address:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondmen's two hundred and fifty years of unrequitted toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid for by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in

the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in to bind up the nation's wounds to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan to do all which many achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Lincoln and His Cabinet.

I confess that in preparing this article, I have reached a more exalted conception of Abraham Lincoln than I ever entertained before. I had always supposed that I had done justice to him as man, as president, as commander in chief and as the "Great Emancipator." I had, however, believed that some at least of his cabinet were worthy of a degree of commendation, almost equal to that which as cheerfully credited to Lincoln himself. Of the members of his cabinet Seward and Chase had played great parts in politics before the war. They were national figures long before the great Lincoln-Douglas debates attered the attention of the country on the president that was to be. Lincoln was elected, he was [illegible] upon in the east with misgivings, the whole country breathed easier when he gathered so many great and trusted men into the company of his advisers. Throughout the war Seward, and Chase and Stanton had full credit for what they did, and ever since the war they have occupied such positions in many minds, including my own, that I have failed to do full justice to the one hero who carried the tremendous load of responsibility for all final decisions. His hand alone was directly upon the helm of state, and to no other shoulders could be shifted the responsibility for the conduct of the war. Especially is it true that Lincoln bore the burden of the war in the disastrous fall of 1862. I have already described the situation amounting almost to a panic in the capital city. In this crisis Lincoln re-appointed McClellan to the chief command. In doing so he acted counter to the views of his entire cabinet. It is not too much to say that Chase and Stanton were furious; Chase declared that giving command to McClellan was equal to giving Washington to the rebels. Other members were less vigorous in their criticism, but there was practically unanimity in deploring the action of the president. Stanton remarked with evident feeling that no order to place him in command had been issued by the war department. Lincoln calmly stated that the order was his, and he would be responsible for it to the country. His manner was deliberate but firm and decisive. Secretary Wells in describing the president's demeanor said: "His language and manner were kind and affectionate especially toward two of the members who were greatly disturbed; but every person felt that he was truly the chief, and every one knew his decision, though mildly expressed, was as fixed and unalterable as if given out with the imperious command and determined will of Andrew Jackson." The great leader of the people assumed the responsibility of again entrusting McClellan with command, and history has approved his action. Although in Lincoln's opinion McClellan had failed to exhibit capacity for offensive warfare, he believed that his genius for organizing would be of great value at this particular time, and that in a defensive campaign, he would be capable of meeting and beating Lee. If we need a measure of Lincoln's greatness, we find it here. When all others were excited, he was calm. When all others knew not what to do, he was ready to direct the action which he believed to be called for by surrounding circumstances. McClellan met Lee on the field of Antietam and drove him across the Potomac, making it possible for Lincoln to issue his emancipation proclamation in an hour of victory.

President Took Responsibility.

In the same way Lincoln took the responsibility for issuing the great proclamation. He did not ask for the opinion of his cabinet upon the subject. He stated to them that he had considered the subject and reached a fixed determination. Singularly enough, Seward, the great anti-slavery leader of the period before the war, seemed to be unprepared for the new policy. He seemed, somehow, to have joined the forces of those who thought that cotton was king, and to have reached the conclusion that the industrial world abroad would resent

whatever interfered with its access to the supply of cotton. Stanton's written memorandum declares—"Seward argues that the foreign nations will interfere and prevent the abolition of slavery for the sake of cotton." But it mattered not what views the members of his cabinet expressed. Lincoln's mind was made up. His policy was fixed. He had arrived at an irrevocable decision and, standing alone was ready to take the responsibility. Surely it would be impossible to overestimate the moral grandeur and intelectual greatness of a man who, solitary and alone, became responsible for the great emancipation proclamation. I, therefore, feel that I must recast my estimate of Lincoln, and recognize his transcendant superiority to each and all of his constitutional advisors. It is true that Lincoln had been slow in reaching the conclusion to which he came. Sumner always recognized the honesty of Lincoln

but Lincoln was always a puzzle to him. Sumner insisted that the war should be prosecuted for the avowed purpose of securing the freedom of the slaves. Lincoln was unable to agree with him in this, and, though as heart as truly an anti-slavery man as Sumner, waited for the hour when military necessity should relieve him from the obligations of his presidential oath. Sumner was continually urging the president to immediate action. Lincoln would ward off his importunity by saying—"Mr. Sumner you are only six weeks ahead of me," and as we have seen when the hour of decision was reached, Lincoln was as firm and determined as Andrew Jackson.

Man of Achievement.

Though their numbers are lessening every day, there are still those who think that Lincoln should have declared liberty at an earlier date. They agree with those who during the early part of the war approved the proclamations of Fremont and Hunter. It is an evidence of statesmanship to be able to discern the signs of the times. The puny proclamations of Fremont and Hunter were like the twittering of the birds before the morning, whose notes precede the dawn indeed, but do not create the sunrise. Achievement in all such cases awaits the anointed man, whose words speak power. Not the least

among the titles of Lincoln to remembrance and gratitude is the fact that he kept silence while silence was wisdom, and spoke when his voice was the echo of the voice of God.

We are celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. It is well that we so celebrate. The two most powerful educational influences in our land today are the names of Washington and

Lincoln. Happy is the nation whose heroes are examplers of the civic and moral virtues. More and more shall such names as Caesar and Napoleon, synonyms of selfishness, shrink and shrivel and fade away; while more and more shall Washington and Lincoln take to their names an augmented splendor, shining brighter and brighter until the perfect day.

Moiles, William H. Jr.

By William H. Moiles, Jr.

Lincoln's Legend Grows And the People Like It

Abraham Lincoln has been made to look like a god who came down and walked among men.

He has also been made to look like an outsized sap who sometimes mouthed absurdities in saccharine words.

His life contained so many elements of a mythical nature that books have been written in an attempt to prove he never lived.

One writer argued that by the year 3663 the entire Lincoln story will sound so fantastically improbable that it will be looked upon as "a forgery of the twentieth century."

"There may be a deep significance in such drolleries," wrote an eminent Lincoln scholar, Roy P. Basler. "For Abraham Lincoln certainly lived, and just as certainly the mythical elements are in his story. How shall we deny to this man either his existence or his significance? His existence may some day be denied, but his significance never."

What does the searcher find when he looks for the true picture of this man who seems the closest to us of all our national heroes?

Lincoln Was All Things?

The same Basler reminds us:

"It can be shown from ample, if incomplete, evidence that Lincoln had great executive ability or that he had none; that he was a great judge of men or that he was a very poor judge of men; that he was handsome or that he was extremely ugly; that he was awkward or that he was graceful; that he was carefully dressed or that he was slouchily and poorly dressed; that he was very democratic or that he was very aloof; that he told questionable stories or that he did not tell them; that he was religious or that he was indifferent; that he loved his wife exceedingly well or that he could scarcely bear with her; that he was merely a drifter who waited until public opinion could not be denied or that he always knew the proper time to do the proper thing; that he preserved the Union or that the Union was preserved in spite of his countless deficiencies and errors; that he was the greatest general and strategist of the Union or that by meddling he prevented great generals from achieving victory; that he was soft-hearted or that he was iron-hearted; that he was a tyrant or that he was the best and most just ruler that ever lived; that he was the most popular and loved man in the North during his presidency or that he was the most unpopular and hated; that he was predominantly melancholy or that he was predominantly happy; that he was very much bent on freeing the slaves or that he was indifferent to their status; that he was a ludicrous and uninspiring figure or that he was all but majestic; and so on.

Their Favorite Legend

"Any and all of these conceptions are amply documented by biography and criticism without including the work of a single writer south of the Mason and Dixon Line."

There are the contradictions.

Out of them, over the years, slowly but steadily, the people have fashioned their favorite legend.

They have fashioned it lovingly, with their songs and their stories and their poems, in things like a Saint-Gaudens statue and an album of Decca records.

They are not always true to their legend; in some places it is looked upon with scorn. But the people go on with their building.

The people have made the legend, and the legend is helping to make the people.

To give that legend its finest expression, they have found

a poet; because it takes a poet, even though he writes in prose, to do this legend justice.

It takes a poet, because, when there is no record, poets know best what people would say.

It is Carl Sandburg's story of what happened 139 years ago today that most of the people like best.

"One morning in February of this year, 1809, Tom Lincoln came out of his cabin to the road, stopped a neighbor and asked him to tell 'the granny woman,' Aunt Peggy Walters, that Nancy would need help soon.

Lincoln is Born

"On the morning of February 12, a Sunday, the granny woman was there at the cabin. And she and Tom Lincoln and the moaning Nancy Hanks welcomed into a world of battle and blood, of whispering dreams and wistful dust, a new child, a boy.

"A little later that morning, Tom Lincoln threw some extra wood on the fire and an extra bearskin over the mother, went out of the cabin and walked two miles up the road to where the Sparrows, Tom and Betsy, lived. Dennis Hanks, the nine-year-old boy adopted by the Sparrows, met Tom at the door.

"In his slow way of talking— he was a slow and quiet man—Tom Lincoln told them, 'Nancy's got a boy baby.'"

WORCESTER DAILY TELEGRAM,

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1948

Mondell, Frank W.

FRANK WHEELER MONDELL

Representative from Wyoming

IN THE days of darkest trial, when friends of the Union were critical and its enemies were seeking its destruction by force and every conceivable manner of intrigue, President Lincoln, with full knowledge of the situation, said, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

A man of Lincoln's mold and view would without pride of opinion or malice toward anyone, have kept his hands free from meddling in Mexico's internal affairs, while at the same time insisting, with that firmness which was as characteristic as his charity, on the protection of American lives and property in Mexico. The policies of Lincoln would probably have restored peace in Mexico ere this; at least, they would have saved the lives of our people and our prestige there.

Lincoln's keen sense of justice and his kindly heart would have prompted him to have proceeded in the name of humanity against the invasion and destruction of Belgium. With charity and firmness he would have insisted upon our rights on every sea, and if we may judge by the way he succeeded in compelling foreign nations in the trying days of the Civil War to recognize the justice of our demands and contentions, he would have succeeded in maintaining and securing the protection and safety of American lives and property.

At a time when the virus of war madness is eating into the hearts and souls of the American people and threatening to tear the nation from its historic moorings, Lincoln would have reminded the people that the strength of a nation lay in the stout hearts and honest purposes of its people, and that at a time when all the world was war mad was the time when the republic should most seek to discourage and discountenance the growth of a spirit of militarism.

TRIBUTE PAID LIFE OF LINCOLN

Club Named for Emancipator at Annual Banquet

Senator Cole Gives Personal Touch to Meeting

Addresses Recall Service and Ideals

Los Angeles Times 2-13-23

Meeting not so much in formal tribute to the memory of Abraham Lincoln as in earnest recognition of the inspiring influence of Lincoln's life and ideals and service in the affairs of nation, State and of the individual citizen of today, members of the Lincoln Club of California, representing the leadership of the Republican party in this section of the State, held the third annual banquet of the organization last night in the California Club.

In a masterly address that pictured Lincoln as a figure of such world magnitude as to embrace the highest hopes and aspirations of all nations, creeds and races, Frederick Warde, noted Shakespearean actor, spoke on "The Legacy of Lincoln," and in language equally eloquent, Dr. Ernest C. Moore, director of the University of California, Southern Branch, spoke on "What Really Made Lincoln Great."

And a page of history that made the Great Emancipator a man of flesh and blood of the present, that brought the very spirit and personality of Lincoln into the banquet hall, was recited from personal recollections of the scenes and occasions he described by former United States Senator Cornelius Cole, who represented California in the United States Senate when Lincoln was President.

Senator Cole, who celebrated his one hundredth birthday last September, told many Lincoln anecdotes and repeated with remarkable clarity conversations he held with Lincoln during his official residence in Washington. Mr. Cole was a member of the party that accompanied President Lincoln to Gettysburg and sat on the platform while the President delivered his immortal address.

READS FAMOUS ADDRESS

Lincoln's Gettysburg address, customarily read at the annual dinner of the club by Dr. John Willis Baer, first vice-president, was read last night by Maynard McFie. Dr. Baer was unable to be present because of illness.

Mr. Warde, an Englisman by birth and a naturalized citizen of the United States, after touching upon the lowly birth of Lincoln and his long struggle for recognition and success, said:

"The history of the world records no parallel to the life of this remarkable product of the soil. The burden of poverty, the barriers of knowledge, the prejudice of class, the antagonism of interest and the bitterness of political rivalry were overcome by the indomitable will, the sterling integrity and rugged honesty of a man whose simple faith in truth and justice raised him to the pinnacle of human achievement and to a fame that is world-wide and will be perpetual.

"Memorials in bronze, in marble and in stone attest the grateful appreciation of his country; but the record of his spoken word is the more enduring monument; and the words of Abraham Lincoln will float on the tide of time until time shall cease to be—a legacy and trust to all posterity. 'The Union must and shall be preversed' and 'a government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.'

"Gentlemen, that is our trust; yours as native Americans, mine as a naturalized citizen, and may the Almighty God, that gave us the man whose memory we honor today, give us and our posterity strength and wisdom to keep that trust and be worthy of the heritage we enjoy."

LINCOLN'S GREATNESS

In his address on "What Really Made Lincoln Great," Dr. Moore said in part:

"It is a beneficent and elevating practice of our people to come together on Lincoln's birthday, to remind each other of what he thought and did and suffered. We do well to remember him, for he is the interpreter of the life we strive to lead.

"Wherein was he truly great? What did he do that no other man could possibly have done?

"He was misjudged, misrepresented and reviled. His old neighbors and his associates spoke of him as a politician and sometimes as a ward politician. That is a word very difficult to define. They did not use it as a term of praise. They did not mean by it that he gained his ends by bribery or unfairness. They would never have called him 'Honest Abe' if they had. But he did hate to disoblige a friend and on all but the most important matters he found it hard to say no, and he did like the skirmish of arranging and counter-arranging.

"His experience in Illinois had not trained him for the tremendous responsibility which suddenly became his. Yet today what his contemporaries called mistakes of policy are almost all regarded as more nearly right than wrong and of all his appointments, only one, that of Cameron as Secretary of War, proved grossly wrong. But even the story of that appointment does honor to Lincoln. It seems that his stanch friend, Judge David Davis, had, on his own initiative, bought Cameron's support in the nominating convention by the promise of a seat in the Cabinet and Mr. Lincoln had to make that unauthorized promise good or repudiate his chief supporter, Mr. Davis. His lack of training in foreseeing the immense havoc that the wrong kind of man would work in that office, not his lack of morals, caused him to chose the wrong horn of that dilemma.

"His critics said, too, that he was ambitious, and he was, but his ambition was that fine kind that could and did deny itself for his colleagues and for the cause which he served. 'There is,' says Lord Charnwood, 'hardly another statesman on record of whom we do not sometimes suspect that the personal motives of rivalry, or vanity, or pique, or rancor, governed his course. There is literally, so far as I can discover, no incident in Lincoln's career in which the presence of these motives has been or can be suggested.

" 'There was no lie in him at all. If a statement by Lincoln comes into conflict with a statement of some other man, however honorable in the main, actual falsehood on the part of the other man presents itself as a possible solution of the puzzle, falsehood on Lincoln's part, never.'

"But his sincerity was far finer than that even. In the course of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, he submitted an intended utterance to a friend who suggested the use of a somewhat stronger adjective in one place than Mr. Lincoln had put down. It was no use; the words remained as they were originally written, for Lincoln said he would rather be defeated than mislead the people 'by a single adjective.'

"I think there were two things that made Lincoln great. In his philosophy, the greatest of all great words was folks, and the second was like unto it. Of them, and for them and by them were all human institutions made, and all institutions in his discernment must one day serve them. He felt their supreme worth next in clearness to the Master of Life, Himself. The cry of the oppressed went to his heart, the aspiration of mankind found in him a voice, a will, an arm.

"He was the emancipator in a far truer sense than the men who gave him that title knew. He was the emancipator who could say 'My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.' When the men about him clamored most fiercely that he free the slaves, he talked the more vigorously about saving the Union. Why? Because the thought that the preservation of the Union was the only means to make mankind, either white or black, free, permanently free.

"By holding fast to whatsover things are lovely, honest, true and of good report, we create the United States today, even as he did in his great day. If you ask where it is, it is not the land between the Atlantic and the Pacific, between Mexico and Canada. It is not in Washington, where the Congress and the President and the Supreme Court are. From moment to moment we make it by our desires, our hopes, our consenting resolves. God, as Malbranche taught, is a continuing Creator and the United States is the continuing creation of the Lincoln that is in us all."

Moore, Ernest C.

Morgan, Rev. Garfield

Garfield Morgan's Evaluation of Lincoln Offers Great Lesson to U.S. in War Crisis

Item Reprints Late Pastor's Analysis of Great Emancipator

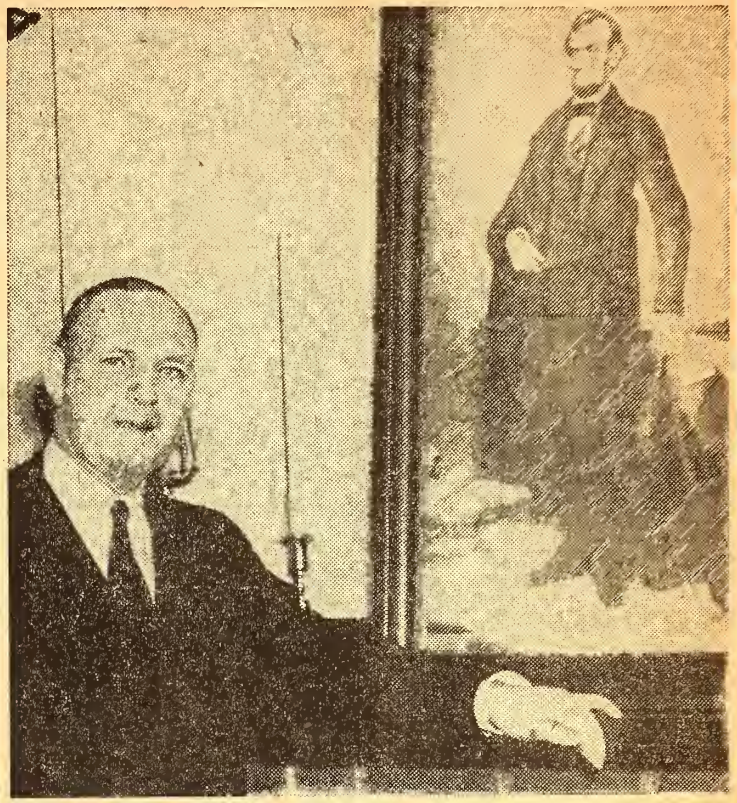
(Editor's Note: A lifelong admirer of Abraham Lincoln and a deep student of his career, the late Rev. Garfield Morgan, for more than two decades pastor of Central Congregational Church prior to his death last April, penned the following estimate of Lincoln just before his final illness. The Item re-publishes it today, in recognition of the Great Emancipator's anniversary. The article was originally intended for a Sunday morning radio broadcast, but Mr. Morgan's illness made it impossible for him to transcribe it, as planned.)

By THE REV. GARFIELD MORGAN

The Spirit of Abraham Lincoln

We American people are greatly favored in the month of February. It has become an accepted part of our tradition and historical heritage to think of Washington as the Father of his country, and Lincoln as the Saviour of his country. This morning we shall especially emphasize the character of Lincoln, and shall seek to gather from the richness of his spirit, needed teachings and lessons for our own day.

* * *



"NEEDED LESSONS FOR OUR OWN DAYS" are available in Lincoln's writings and speeches, as the late Rev. Garfield Morgan constantly pointed out. Here, the former pastor of Central Congregational Church is shown in his home before a full-length portrait of the Great Emancipator, one of his great heroes and exemplars.

DAILY EVENING ITEM — LYNN, MASS., MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1951

The figure of Lincoln still towers aloft today, and his great and simple words ring clearly in our hearts like divine music. Nothing more noble than the spirit of Lincoln has ever been seen in our New World. The nearer one comes to him, the more one knows about him, the more stainless and just he seems to be.

* * *

We shall speak of three outstanding qualities of his spirit, which have made him not only the greatest character of the 19th century, but have made him the universally beloved figure that he is. First, his political sense and sagacity, which enabled him to see into the very heart of our national life, and put his finger on the cancer which was eating at the vitals. When he made his famous speech, in which he said, "This country cannot exist one half slave and the other half free," he had prophetic insight which lifted him into a class entirely by himself. Thus the saving of the Union, which all men know now was the master passion of his life. As Stephens said, in Lincoln's mind, the vision of the Union rose to sublimity of a religious mysticism and to it he paid the last full measure of devotion.

* * *

Another aspect of his sagacity is seen in his reverent recognition of the morality, which was involved in the issue of human slavery. For Lincoln it was vastly more than a political issue; it was a great moral question; it was an offense against the law and justice of God. As evidence of this, he spoke in his second inaugural these unforgettable words: "If every drop of blood drawn by the lash must be paid for by another drawn by the sword, then are His judgments true and righteous altogether." No man ever held a loftier conception of the sanctity of law than Lincoln held and his acts were done as under the eyes of God.

* * *

Our second observation is sympathy. From the earliest records of his life, this quality was strong. We have the picture of a plain, simple man, friendly and neighborly, who knew that humanity was deeply hurt somewhere and who tried to heal it. There are stories aplenty of his kindness to dumb animals and his deep and abiding sympathy for his fellow human beings. No wonder his face was furrowed, for the tragedy and tears of a great nation left their indelible marks on his sad and sorrowful countenance.

But there is a deeper meaning to his sympathy than that already mentioned. It was what Dr. George A. Gordon calls his "epic sympathy." By this he meant that Lincoln gathered up the sins and sufferings of the whole nation. He saw not merely the North or the South, but the national life bearing the burden and the bitterness of its injustice and in a very real sense, he was wounded for the nation's trangressions and by the verdict, that this great soul passed to its reward at the peak of its power and influence. Had he lived in the stormy and shameful days of the Reconstruction period, it is very likely that we would never have the beautiful and precious memory of him that we have today.

Some years ago, Justice Charles Evan Hughes said if he could have his way, he would require every high school student, before graduating, to complete satisfactorily a course on the life of Lincoln. I am sure that all of us would endorse that wish on the part of the Chief Justice. Every generation in America needs to discover Lincoln and gather into its life the ideals he represented. We need to learn again and again, the high type of his patriotism and his reverent regard for the hope and the promise America has brought to the world. We need his attitude toward public office as an opportunity to serve the public good. We need his magnanimity, his charity and his forgiveness in our relation to our fellow human beings. These qualities mark him not only as a great character, but they gave to his statesmanship a tone and a temper unparalleled in the history of political leadership.

* * *

What a human being he was! Ceasar, Napoleon, Bismarck were great, but they were not great human beings. They cared nothing for people as such and they lacked the common touch. Their ears were attuned to the sound of martial strains, but they never listened to the still, sad music of humanity. Here Lincoln shone in a resplendent fashion He loved the people. It was for them he lived, labored, suffered and died. No wonder then that whether here in America or on the thronged streets of London, multitudes stand before his figure every day and feel their deepest and tenderest emotions stirred. They knew that here was one who incarnated the spirit of Him, who went about doing good and who hung upon a cross wrapped in the crimson mantel of His eternal sacrifice.

* * *

If Lincoln never formally belonged to a church, he exhibited in a superlative degree the best for which the church strives—namely, to bring into the world the gentleness and goodness of Christ. His life was his creed. He illumined the gospel of goodwill and as long as the English language is spoken, men's speech will be seasoned with the sagacity and wisdom of his words . What Tennyson said about the Duke of Wellington is so true of him:

"Through the centuries let a people's voice
The proof and echo of all human fame
Bring honor, honor, honor to him
Eternal honor to his name."

his stripes the nation was healed. This quality in his spirit has made him the lovable character in our national history.

Of his fame, there will be no end, because there dwelt within him a spirit which awakens the better angles of our own nature. If by art we could send the spirit of Lincoln into the dark corners of the world, what a different place the earth would be! Pity and laughter and loving kindness would return to the common ways of man. What a life to read, honor and remember. What high courage, what wise humility, what tear-freighted humor! It is a story to exalt and ennoble our faith and to purify our dreams. Lincoln lived and died for liberty and unity, so that we can "pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States, one nation, with liberty and justice for all."

* * *

And finally, his spirit of sacrifice. This was the badge he wore all his life, and when he assumed the presidency, he soon realized that he was to taste the deeper drags of sacrificial service. It is impossible to form any correct appraisal of what it meant to him to lead his country into the agony and anguish of Civil War. No wonder that he pleaded so earnestly and eloquently in his first inaugural, that his fellow countrymen would listen to the better angles of their nature and preserve the Union, with liberty and justice forever.

* * *

One of the most difficult problems in the life of Lincoln is that of reconciling the kindness, the gentleness, the forgiveness of his nature, with his leadership in a great war. My own solution is that first it was the only way he could save the Union and second, it was the scourge of God for the sins of His people. Those four years of what Lincoln called "this cruel war," took a terrific toll in all that he had to give, "with malice toward none, with charity for all" and in all his attempts to bind up the nations wounds.

Then when it seemed that there might be dawning a new day, with hope and peace, and victory is assured, then we hear the crack of the assassin's pistol and behold the sacrifices of his life are crowned and coronated in his sacrificial death. The perspective of time has given

MORGAN, REV. GARFIELD

Garfield Morgan Analyzes Phases of Lincoln's Life

Authority of Emancipator Finds They Blend Into Great Career

(Editor's Note: Acknowledged as Lynn's outstanding authority on Lincolniana, the Rev. Garfield Morgan, pastor of Central Congregational Church, has prepared the following article, entitled, "Abraham Lincoln: Three Phases of Development," on the eve of the 141st anniversary of the Martyred President's birth. The Item is happy to publish it as a contribution to further public appreciation of this great American.)

By THE REV. GARFIELD MORGAN

There are three phases of Abraham Lincoln's life, which reveal a fascinating and appealing source of interest to the student of this great character. They constitute such dramatic development and show him mellowed under their powerful influence, that one might reasonably say that these developments were responsible for the stature of his soul. We refer first to his development as a statesman; second, to his development in the field of literary excellence, and third, to his development in his profound understanding of the far-reaching implications of religion. Let us discuss them in the order in which we have named them here.

First, one cannot help but notice the way in which Lincoln emerged from the limitations of the local politician into the lucid insights of real statesmanship. True it is that at an early age he brooded with heavy heart and inquiring mind over the problem of human slavery. There was something about it that outraged the fine sensitivity of his soul and the more he thought about it, the more he was baffled and bewildered by its moral obtuseness.

* * *

The literature which fell into his hands set his heart on fire, for it was the Declaration of Independence, whence he drew his inspiration. When his eager mind and humane spirit came to reflect upon this problem, it was more or less a political football. It seemed almost to be the plaything of politicians and even the Supreme Court had no creditable record in dealing with it. It had failed to enlist the conscience and to arouse the moral indignation of those who were responsible, either for its furtherance or for its extinction.

* * *

But when the iron-throated cannon of Washington Navy Yard broke the stillness of a March dawn in 1854 because of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, this awakened Lincoln to the great mission for which his whole life had been an unconscious preparation. It aroused him from his indifference to political questions and drew him out of his retirement. Here you begin to see the emerging of his statesmanship, the utterance of his "House Divided Against Itself" speech. From then on, his utterances are prophetic. They make any others seem tame and timid. He had defined the issue; he had seen clearly its moral and political aspects. He knew the country, both North and South, must bear the shame of injustice. This idea sank into his soul and came forth, bathed in the fires of his redemptive spirit. Out of weary and trying pilgrimage, beset by defeats and failures, he arrived at a quality and sagacity of statesmanship that made him the greatest character of the 19th century.

* * *

Now let us look at the achievement of literary excellence. Here we cannot level very harsh criticism at his early literary efforts. Even these had a simplicity and a directness which was not entirely characteristic of his time, but they lacked the winsomeness, the depth and the human appeal which live in his more mature writings. The early writings were keen, powerful, full of character, melodius and impressive. The later writings have all these qualities, but in addition, have constant power to awaken the imagination and to carry an idea beyond its own horizon into a boundless world of imperishable literary significance.

* * *

And here we should pause to give due credit to the influence of William Henry Seward, Secretary of State. He brought to Lincoln a touch which gave a new effectiveness, new range to his style. Lincoln asked Seward to criticize his first inaugural, which he did. He drafted a paragraph of his own, which Lincoln took, and when it had passed through the alembic of his own personality, it came forth the immortal document which it is. From then on, Lincoln has found the magic touch. You see this illustrated in his letter to Mrs. Bixby, his speech at the Baltimore Sanitary Fair, the Gettysburg address and his second inaugural. In these he has left Seward far behind and has left on record a proud possession for us Americans. Wherever the English language is spoken, his words have sung themselves into the speech of men.

* * *

Finally, the marvelous development in the clarity of his religious insights. Lincoln was blessed with a questioning mind. At an early age he looked out from those shaggy eyebrows and in the brooding brightness of the primeval forest, he asked himself many questions about this universe. Much of the religious interpretation of his day he natuarlly could not accept. His gracious and gentle spirit revolted from the fierceness and vindictiveness of the God they represented.

Then again, he could not identify himself with the uncontrollable emotion and irrational performances that seemed to satisfy the frail spirit of his mother. In his revolt, he was possibly not always careful of the feelings and the beliefs of his fellows as he might have been. Of course, because of this, they went to extremes in branding him as an infidel. This weighed heavily against him when he had as his political opponent in a local contest Peter Cartwright, a Methodist itinerant preacher. Lincoln was always ready for a debate, and sometimes out of limited knowledge; he spoke with dogmatic finality. He was always on the quest for the fuller revelations of truth, and he sought these, not out of mere intellectual curiosity, but as an inner equipment by which he could more accurately appraise the burning issues of his time.

* * *

Of course, the institution of human slavery was always in the forefront of his mind, and he always thought that if there was a God worthy of worship, He must abhor and hate it. Accordingly, it is in his search for a solution to this vexing problem that there emerges, in bold relief, the strength and beauty of his religious development. He soon discovered that this question was ultimately re-

lated to one much older, which was this: Was this universe grounded in moral law? And did the Creator have a care as to the preservation and continuance of that moral order? That gripped the soul of Lincoln like a vise and held him, leading him through a great Civil War, which purged the heart of the nation, redressed the wrongs of years and saved the mightiest bulwark of freedom up to that time.

* * *

There are those who quibble about Lincoln never becoming a church member. What is vastly more important is that he put the law of God back into the counsels of the nation; relighted the fires of intelligent consciences and brought hope and dreams long denied back to thousands of oppressed people.

* * *

The emergence of this religious development is soon seen under the responsibility of a great office. He broods over his task with great religion as his guiding star. It has laid its healing and helpful hand upon the weariness and war-stricken influences which tortured his own spirit. Furthermore, he knew that nothing could be politically right that was morally wrong; that nothing could be a permanent blessing to man which ignored the dictates of God. These he gathered up in one sublime and peerless utterance: "If every drop of blood drawn by the lash must be paid for by another drawn by the sword, then are His judgments true and righteous altogether."

* * *

Thus we come to a Lincoln, chastened in the fires of suffering, bearing the sins and sorrows of a great people, and as he does it, he leaves us a matchless heritage in the gentleness and magnanimity of his spirit. "With malice toward none, with charity toward all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds."

Morgan, James

Lincoln's Fame Is No Postscript

Politicians Guessed Him Wrong, But the People and the Intellectuals Took the Measure of His Greatness While He Lived.

By JAMES MORGAN

THE late Justice Holmes recently has been cited as a witness that Abraham Lincoln was not rated a great man until long after his death. That raises a question of more than antiquarian interest. For there is a general and persistent belief that often we entertain greatness unawares, which inclines us to hesitate in winnowing the chaff from the wheat in public life lest posterity get a laugh on us. It will be profitable to inquire on this opening day of the week of Lincoln's birthday whether Lincoln's generation really did make a wrong guess on him.

Certainly the political people generally were fooled. That caused many of them to make a lot of trouble for Lincoln in his time and much for themselves in aftertime. But he forewarned them in his second annual message to Congress: "We cannot escape history. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation." The wrong guessers and marplots of that day are remembered now only for the purpose of supplying the shadows in the background of a heroic figure.

Yet it must be said for those luckless fellows that Lincoln was nominated only because he was a supposed second or third-rater, who would not draw the fire of the opposition as it would be drawn by more shining targets. The silence in which he remained wrapped in a remote village throughout the campaign of 1860 deepened the impression, with Wendell Phillips impatiently demanding, "Who is this huckster in politics? Who is this county court advocate?"

The Stranger in Washington

No President-elect until then ever had entered Washington so much a stranger as this one-term ex-Congressman, who publicly admitted, "I hold myself without mock modesty the humblest of all the individuals who have been elected President of the United States."

Nor did he look the star part which a seemingly freakish destiny had cast him to play in the great drama that impended. He was not of the Websterian manner, which remains to our day the pattern for the stuffed shirts who strut and fret their hour upon the stage.

Even John Hay, whom the new President brought on with him from Illinois to be a secretary, seems not to have penetrated this disguise of greatness. For we find young John, who was eastern-educated and an assumed sophisticate, longing to escape from an association with this unsuspected immortal.

Horace Greeley made no bones of telling Lincoln to his face in what low esteem he was held by beginning a letter to him with this candid salutation, "You are not considered a great man." All Washington took it for granted that one of the two great men in the Cabinet, Seward or Chase, would run this "simple Susan," as Samuel Bowles of the Springfield Republican sized him up.

Seward and Chase factions in Congress wrangled for years over the project to "rescue" Lincoln from the supposed domination of the one or the other, and there were many who wanted to deliver him from the domineering Stanton. "He might appear to go Seward's way one day," Grant said, "and Stanton's another, but all the time he was going his own course, and they

with him. It was his gentle firmness in carrying out his own will without argument, force or friction that formed the basis."

Slow Start on a Far Journey

There is much to be said in extenuation for those behind the scenes who undervalued Lincoln, always an inefficient administrator. When the first Charles Francis Adams came to discuss foreign policy with his Chief before departing for his post as Minister to England, he carried away from that last meeting with him the picture of a "shabbily dressed man," who "slouched into the room" in "worn slippers," and talked mostly about the Chicago Postmastership. Adams never was to realize that he was saved from receiving his passports in London by Lincoln's common sense and native tact in toning down Seward's protest to the British Government against the recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent.

"I may go forward slowly," Lincoln said, "but I never walk backward." No one had a clearer or stronger grasp than he of the issue confronting the country. But he was not, nor was anyone else, quick to rise to the proportions of the struggle over that issue. Once events had lifted him to the level of it, he himself lifted the occasion to the loftier level of the universal principles set forth in the Gettysburg Address and of the soul-searching, spiritual vision that illumined the Second Inaugural.

Popular Instinct Prophetic

At the approach of the time to nominate a candidate for President in 1864, the almost unanimous voice of the political fraternity was "for anyone but Lincoln," which collided, when the delegates came to the convention, with the voice of the people "for no one but Lincoln."

To the two extremes of our national life, the commonalty and the intellectuals, belongs the honor of having been first to mark the moral and mental growth of the man and to appreciate his rare natural qualities for leadership. The judgment of history on him was anticipated by the instinct of his own plain people. However they wearied and faltered in the long, indecisive war, their attitude toward the President himself was not so extravagantly overstated by an enthusiastic westerner in the line at a White House reception, who declaimed, "Out our way the people put their trust in God and Abraham Lincoln." The secondary object of that tribute replied with the admission, "My friend, I am inclined to think they are half right, at least." There is credible testimony to the popular affection in the very title of the song, "We Are Coming, Father Abraham, Three Hundred Thousand More."

Poets and Prophets

Emerson was in the forefront of the intelligentsia in revising the estimation of Lincoln. Lowell did not lag behind the sage of Concord in acclaiming the "unknown man whom a blind fortune, as it seemed, had lifted from the crowd to the most dangerous and difficult eminence of modern times."

Within a week of Stanton's turning from the deathbed of his Chief and hoarsely whispering, "Now he belongs to the ages," Emerson pronounced a eulogy which time has not emended:

> "Old as history is, and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused so much pain to mankind as this has caused. . . . We might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us. . . . By his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the center of a heroic epoch. . . . He is the true history of the American people in his time . . . father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue."

Lowell's Commemoration Ode at Harvard followed in a few weeks with its now time-tested prophecy:

> standing like a tower,
> Our children shall behold his fame,
> The kindly-earnest, brave, far-seeing man,
> Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame,
> New birth of our new soil, the first American.

The theme inspired Whitman to write what my gifted colleague, Lucien Price, ranks first in elegiac literature, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed:"

> A sprig with its flower I break
> . . . . . .
> For the sweetest, wisest soul of all my days. . . .

Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, Dr. Holmes, all laid their wreaths on the bier, while from across the Atlantic the funeral chorus was swollen by Tom Taylor in his apology for London Punch:

> Yes, he had liv'd to shame me from my sneer,
> . . . . . .
> To make me own this hind of princes peer,
> This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

Lincoln's fame is no postscript of history. True, it has continued to spread abroad, until Lloyd George could say at the dedication of the statue of the American President at Westminster:

> "In a few moments we shall see unveiled before our eyes a presentment in bronze of the best known historical face in the Anglo-Saxon world, in fact one of the few best known faces in the whole world. He is one of the giant figures, of whom there are very few in history, who lose their nationality in death . . . they belong to mankind."

Posterity cherishes but it may not flatter itself that it discovered the greatness of this embodiment of the American way of life, this prophet of government by the people, which is now again under fire, who stands as the supreme justification and the symbol of an equal chance for all men everywhere.

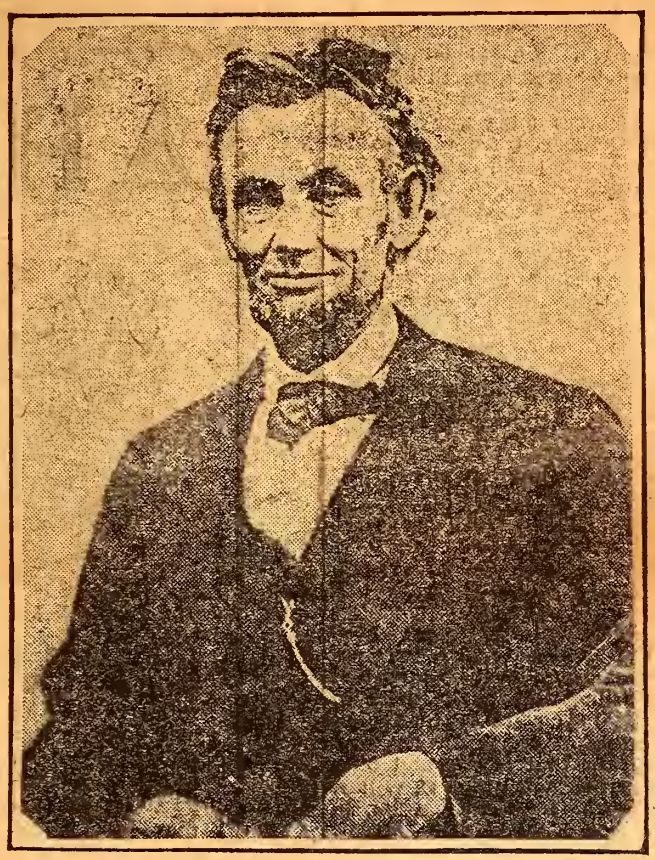
2/7/43
Boston Globe

Morgan, James

Five Minutes a Day With Our Presidents

By JAMES MORGAN

XLIX—LINCOLN IN VICTORY



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

From the Last Original, Unretouched Negative Made the Sunday Before His Assassination.

THE country lawyer in the White House, who never had set a squadron in the field, turned at last the tide of battle when it had been running for two years against the Union. As Lee's army swept northward, after smashing the Federal forces at Chancellorsville, General Hooker, the Union commander, proposed to stay behind and take Richmond. Lincoln's common-sense rejected that absurd plan and he ordered the army to follow Lee. But after beating the Confederates at Gettysburg, it let them retreat in safety, and the president impatiently exclaimed, "If I had gone there, I could have whipped them myself."

The next day after Gettysburg, Grant took Vicksburg, and that was another victory which Lincoln made possible. He had stood by Grant, whom he never had seen, when that general had hardly another supporter in Washington. "I cannot spare this man; he fights." The president expressed in these few words the great significance of the fall of Vicksburg: "The 'Father of Waters' again goes unvexed to the sea." A few months afterward he compressed the meaning of the whole mighty struggle into the few simple sentences of his noble Gettysburg address.

After more victories by Grant around Chattanooga, the victorious general was brought east and, under his command Lincoln started his fifth drive on Richmond. Then came the darkness before the dawn of the final triumph, and 1864 was in some respect the most trying year of the war. A presidential election was at hand, and leading republican politicians were for "anybody but Lincoln." Some were for Grant. "If he takes Richmond, let him have it," said the president.

1863—July 1, 2, 3, Battle of Gettysburg.
July 4, Grant took Vicksburg.
Nov. 19, Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

1864—May 4, Grant opened the Wilderness Campaign.
June 8, Lincoln renominated.
July 10, Confederates in sight of Washington.
July 16, gold rose to $2.85.
Aug. 23, Lincoln forecasted his defeat in the election.
Aug. 31, Democratic National Convention declared the war a failure.
Sept. 2, Sherman entered Atlanta.
Sept. 19, Sheridan won Battle of Winchester.
Nov. 8, Lincoln re-elected.

1865—Feb. 3, met Confederates at Hampton Roads conference.
March 4, his second inauguration.
March 22, arrived at Grant's headquarters.
April 4, visited Richmond.
April 9, returned to Washington.

Above the whisperings and plots of the politicians, the voice of the people rose in a chorus for the renomination of Lincoln. Finding themselves without followers when the republican conventian met, the leaders clamored only for the chance to second the popular motion. The president modestly accepted the uprising for him as simply an evidence that the people did not believe it "best to swap horses while crossing the river."

Even Lincoln's faith in the people was shaken in that summer of despair. He doubted if they would go on longer beneath the crushing burden. A shudder of horror ran thru the land at the frightful slaughter under Grant in the Wilderness. "I cannot bear it," the president said, as he turned his saddened face away from a long line of ambulances. Nevertheless he did not flinch in the midst of his campaign for re-election from making the staggering demand for 500,000 more recruits. A Confederate army boldly advanced within sight of the capital. A gold dollar was worth in July $2.85 in greenbacks.

Under the thickening clouds in August, Lincoln sat down, and wrote and sealed a forecast of his own defeat in the November elections and also his resolve to co-operate with McClellan, the democratic candidate, as soon as the latter should have been elected. Equally certain that the president was in a losing fight, the democrats adopted a platform which declared the war a failure and which called for peace by negotiation. But in two days more Sherman was in Atlanta and in two weeks more Sheridan won the battle of Winchester.

The war was not a failure, and Lincoln was a success. Carrying all but three of the States that took part in the election, he could yet say in truth to the serenaders at the White House, "It is no pleasure to me to triumph over anyone."

Victory in the war was to call out the noblest qualities in the man. No sooner was he assured that the Union was saved than peace and forgiveness became his ruling passion. In the hour of assured victory he did not hes-

itate, for the sake of stopping the bloodshed, to go into conference at Hampton Roads with the leaders of the doomed confederacy. After his return from that fruitless parley he wrote a message to congress, proposing to pay the slaveholders $400,000,000 for their slaves if the South would only cease fighting. All the cabinet objecting with a sign he put the message in his drawer.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all," came forth from Lincoln's soul like a chant at his second inauguration. As the curtain was lifted in the spring for the closing scene of the great tragedy, the voice that never had faltered in the dark days of the war pleaded at Grant's headquarters, "Can't this last bloody battle be avoided?"

Richmond fell, and the conqueror who had hurled so many armies against the stubborn defenses entered the conquered capital afoot, leading Tad by the hand. He had not come to triumph over a vanquished foe, and as he sat in the "White House of the Confederacy," from which Jefferson Davis had fled 36 hours before, he said to a man who cried out for vengeance against the fugitive chieftain of the South, "Judge not that ye may not be judged."

As the Presidential boat returned to Washington, and the white dome of the capitol swam into the horizon, the haunting shadow of dread revisited Mrs. Lincoln's face. "That city is filled with our enemies," she said.

"Enemies!" Lincoln protested, as if the word had no place in the new era of peace. "We must never speak of that."

Five Minutes a Day With Our Presidents

By JAMES MORGAN

L.—LINCOLN'S LAST DAYS

SAINT GAUDENS' STATUE OF LINCOLN AT CHICAGO.

1865—April 11, Lincoln's last speech.
April 14, shot by John Wilkes Booth.
April 15, died, aged 55.
April 21, the funeral cortege left Washington.
May 4, the burial at Oak Ridge, Springfield, Illinois.

WITH the winning of the war, Lincoln turned at once to bind up the wounds of the Union. The south having surrendered to force, he wished to conquer it forever by magnanimity. He would not hold the states together with bayonets and erect a rebellious Ireland within the borders of the republic.

No bitterness ranked in his big, patient heart. His fairness forbade him to hold any individuals personally responsible for a great civil war.

Unfortunately, many republican leaders, who had not been so much in the thick of the fight, were unable to calm the passions aroused in them by the long struggle. A clamor arose for wholesale hangings and confiscations and for ruling the southern states as conquered provinces.

It was the same conflict that follows every war, the conflict between a peace of reconciliation and a peace of vengeaance. The radicals of congress had no faith in Lincoln's idea of a reunion of hearts. They demanded the rebellious states of the south be held in subjection indefinitely and that the ballot be given to the newly freed slaves, whom Lincoln preferred to admit to the suffrage gradually.

On the second day after the surrender at Appomattox, in an address from a White House window, the president spoke of a new announcement to the people of the south. But that was to be his last speech.

At the cabinet meeting on the closing of his life he rejoiced that congress was not in session to interfere with peace-making and reconstruction, and was confidently hoping to re-establish the Union before it met again. As to Jefferson Davis and the Confederate leaders, he declared with much feeling that no one need expect him to hang them. "Frighten them out of the country!" he cried in excited, high-pitched tones. "Open the gates! Let down the bars! Scare them off! Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentments if we expect harmony and union."

With those accents of a generous statesmanship ringing in their ears the Secretaries went away from the last Cabinet meeting. Secretary Stanton sent, later in the day, to ask permission to arrest Jacob Thompson, a Confederate emissary in Canada, who had slipped into the United States for the purpose of escaping to Europe from Portland. "Well, I rather guess not," the President replied. "When you have an elephant by the hind leg and he wants to run away, better let him run."

An unwonted ease and happiness seemed to rest upon Lincoln that tragic day. Altho he had dreamed the night before that he was in a strange ship, moving toward a dark and indefinite shore, he took it as a good omen. Had not the same dream come to him before the victories of Antietam, Gettsburg and Vicksburg?

In the evening he sat in a box at Ford's Theater, enjoying a comedy, when John Wilkes Booth stole upon him. The handsome but ungifted young actor, who was a prey to dark moods and whose mad hostility to the Union had upset a never well-balanced mind, peeped thru a hole in the door of the box and observed the position of his illustrious victim. Could he have looked into Lincoln's face with its simple bedignity, his better nature might have turned him back from the threshold of his awful crime.

While the curtain was down between the acts, the President and Mrs. Lincoln fondly talked over plans for the future when they should be free from the heavy cares of the White House. As they planned the travels they would enjoy he said "there is no place I should like so much to see as Jerusalem." These were his last words. The play began again and the assassin, noiselessly opening the door, fired his cowardly shot. Lincoln rose from his chair under the impulse of the shock and then sank back into it, his head dropped and his eyes closed, not to open again this side of that mysterious shore toward which he had sailed in his dream ship.

The frenzied murderer pushed his way thru the bewildered party in the box and leaped over its railing. But the folds of the flag that draped it tripped hib and he fell upon the stage Altho the fall had broken his leg, he rose with the melodramatic cry of "Sic temper tyrannis." Making his escape from the stage, he rode away thru the night, but only to be shot down two weeks afterward as he stood at bay in a Virginia barn.

To spare the stricken president a ride over the cobblestones to the White House, he was carried to the simple home of a tailor across the street from the theater. There his giant strength battled with death until the morning. Then the great heart stopped and Stanton hoarsely whispered, "Now, he belongs to the ages."

The day that Lincoln died stands alone among days. A war-weary people awoke to continue the week of rejoicing over the release of their victory. In an hour the land was filled with grief and rage.

No other death ever touched so many hearts. Millions mourned : friends. As the body was borne bacl to Springfield sorrowing hundreds of thousands along the way looked upon the face which had been the mirror of a people's sacrifice and of a people's hope.

At Springfield simple men and women brought from humble homes in the countryside their tributes of tears, not to the dead President, but to the good neighbor who had helped them in counsel in the field, in the forest or on the highway, when he shared with them the crust of poverty. In the place of honor behind his funeral car in the procession to the tomb walked "Old Bob," the faithful horse that had carried him in his travels around the law circuit. Above his prairie grave a lofty monument was raised, and out of the earnings of their free labor thousands of freedom, whose shackles he had broken, contributed t o its buildings.

Morgan, James

How to Raise Up Another Lincoln

America and the Whole Free World Will Remain Leaderless Until They Take a Bold Offensive in This War of Ideas

By JAMES MORGAN

WHILE the American people anxiously are watching in this crisis for the fulfillment of the promise that whenever an occasion calls, a leader will come forth to guide them, there is a timely lesson for them in the strange, unexpected way that promise was kept ninety years ago this morning. Several hundred residents of the little Illinois town of Springfield gathered by the side of a railroad track on a cold, dreary Feb. 11, in 1861, to say goodby to their neighbor, Abraham Lincoln, who was leaving to be inaugurated President of the United States. While he stood, a melancholy figure, on the platform of his car, they saw his lips quiver as he summoned the strength to command his emotions and speak a brief farewell:

My friends, no one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. . . . I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail.

Few, if any, of his listeners could have dared believe, and perhaps no one in all the rest of the land can have imagined that this prairie lawyer was destined to be the sole companion in immortal fame of the Father of his Country. "Without mock modesty," he said later on in his journey to the capital, "I hold myself the humblest of all the individuals who have been elected President." Certainly, he was the least known, with the slightest background.

Immortal Dark Horse

In fact, Lincoln's comparative obscurity had won him the nomination. He had held no public office in the twelve years since his one term in Congress. This political Cinderella had been preferred over better known and supposedly abler aspirants, because their more conspicuous records might in debate with the famous sponsor of the repeal, Senator Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln established in his Cooper Union speech in New York his intellectual and moral right to be the Republican standard bearer. In less than three months afterward, when the delegates arrived at the convention, two-thirds of them were for Senator Seward. But the very pre-eminence of the New Yorker handicapped him in the race with the lesser known Illinoisan. As Seward men reluctantly turned from their favorite, some of them shed tears for the great man that had fallen, unconsoled by the knowledge that a greater had risen.

After a campaign in which the candidates had remained silent, he still was a stranger to the country as a whole when he entered the White House. The prairie mystic kept the secret of the inner Lincoln while the outer Lincoln joked with the biggest and hungriest mob of office seekers that ever had crowded the Executive Mansion. After four weeks, Seward, the Secretary of State, bluntly proposed in writing that the President should leave high policy and statesmanship to him and confine himself to handing out postmasterships and like jobs. Without betraying the least resentment of that unparalleled insult, Lincoln put the Secretary in his place with such a firm hand as to win forever Seward's respect and loyalty. Soon he was writing to his wife, "The President is the best of us."

The Secretary of the Treasury remained blind to the moral supremacy of his Chief. Chase and his faction persisted to the end in boring from within to supplant the President.

His Soul a Fortress

Never having had a clerk under him, Lincoln did not become an efficient executive, and he made almost every possible administrative mistake. The core of his greatness was his simple humanity, a son of

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offend the diverse elements of the new Republican party, a strange bed fellowing of Conscience Whigs, Free Soil Democrats, Native Americans.

The Union was falling to pieces as the newspapers brought reports of the secession of state after state in the South. Webster, Clay, Calhoon, three great leaders of a generation, had died within a decade and left vacant spaces in the horizon. This strange new man did not look like their successor. He was not built on the conventional model for statesmen. A few weeks after Lincoln's death, James Russell Lowell was to write of him:

Nature, they say, doth dote,
And cannot make a man
Save on some worn out plan,
Repeating us by rote:
For him her old world model aside she threw,
And, choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted west,
With stuff untainted shaped a hero new.

The first President born beyond the bounds and outside the traditions of the old colonies on the seaboard, truly here was a leader shaped anew. His lean, six-feet-four figure was out-size for his inexpert tailors, who merely hung on him their ill-fitting clothes. Little twinkling gray eyes lit up, when he was aroused, the shadows in a deeply furrowed face, above which lawlessly tumbled a shock of coarse dark hair.

From a life-time study of Lincoln photographs and plaster masks, the late Truman H. Bartlett, Boston sculptor, challenged the general belief that the man was ungainly and ill-favored by nature. On the contrary, Bartlett contented that Lincoln was built on the classic lines of the great men of antiquity, and Lowell took somewhat the same view in his Harvard Commemoration Ode:

Here was a type of the true elder race,
And one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face.

The Man Who Was Born at 45

Most of the qualities that distinguish the Lincoln known to history lay dormant until he was 45. Before then, he did not stand out from the crowd. His speeches, in the florid style of the day, had given small promise of a Gettyburg Address or a Second Inaugural. The man, whose birthday in 1809 the nation will keep tomorrow, did not come alive until 1854. He was born of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The wiping out of that deadline against the spread of slavery over the free soil of the West aroused him to his life mission. Opening his new career with the House Divided Against Itself speech, he was transfigured by the great issue which had taken possession of him.

The curiosity of the country was piqued by the unknown who dared cross swords the common people who walked in high places without losing his native commonness. He had but to look within himself to see the reflection of the masses from whom he sprang; "the pulse of twenty million throbbing in his heart," as Emerson said.

Most of the Republican leaders always were against him. They talked of forcing him to resign in 1862, and they conspired to prevent his renomination in 1864, but the people always were with him. They and he were flesh and blood kin, and somehow he communicated his purpose to them with strangely few words. He did not confuse them with much talking and shifting of plans. The Gettysburg Address was about the only speech he made while he was President.

The people felt the steadiness of the hand on the rein, which gave assurance that the driver knew where he was going. His faith in the triumph of the right, his patience, his moral perseverance made the soul of Lincoln the fortress of the Union which withstood every assault.

A basic assumption of popular government is that it is a better method than heredity for discovering and developing leaders. In the century and three quarters since the declaration that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, no royal and aristocratic system has matched Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, the two Roosevelts and Woodrow Wilson.

The American people do not need a leader on the German principle of authoritarianism, nor in the tradition of Russian autocracy. Stalin and his Poliburo are not the heirs of Karl Marx but of Ivan the Terrible and Peter, so-called the Great. Americans do not require anyone to tell them where to go but rather how to get there, someone who fits Lowell's characterization of Lincoln,

Once more a shepherd of mankind indeed,
Who loved his charge, but never loved to lead.

Why We Are Leaderless

The free nations are leaderless and without a rallying voice, because they do not yet know where they want to go. Whenever the American people adopt a positive policy worthy of a great leader, he will appear and trumpet the call for a forward march. Leaders do not just happen; they are created by some purpose. Being against Communism or imperialistic aggression is a negation, and a negation is uncreative. It is sheer standpatism and offers the billion hungry, ragged disinherited members of the human family nothing in competition with the windy promises of the Reds.

The free world waits for a leader to strike the note of a bold affirmative. America will not raise up another Lincoln until it raises itself up to his ideal of it as "the last, best hope of earth."

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